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NEW
ESSAYS
ON
TRADE,

Wherein the present State of our *Trade*,
it's Great Decay in the Chief Branche
of it and the Fatal Consequence there-
of to the Nation (unless timely Reme-
dy'd) is considered, under the most Impor-
tant Heads of *Trade* and *Navigation*.

By Sir Francis Brewster, Knt.

Quod violenta nequit peragit Tranquilla potestas.

L O N D O N,

Printed for H. Walwyn, at the Three Legs
in the Poultry, the Corner of the Old-
Jury, 1702.

NEW ESSAYS ON TRADE.

Wherein the present state of our
Trade is Greatly improved, and the
of it, and the Consequences there-
of to the Nation, are fully and
ably explained, and the most
advantageous Methods of carrying
on the same, are fully and
ably explained.



By Sir Francis Bacon, Bart.

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard.

L O N D O N.

Printed for H. Widdowes at the Three Legs
in the Strand, the Corner of the Old
Bath, 1703.

THE
PREFACE.

A Preface to a Treatise on Trade, is not unlike the Spaniards Prelude to asking, (for he doth not beg an Alms) but relates his Descent from some Noble Family, his former Grandure and Expence, and ends with the present Malevolent Influence of his Stars, leaving the Application to the Person he expects Relief from, who oftner returns the same Compliment of his Misfortunes, than any thing to abate that of the Supplicants.

This is the Condition of the once Renowned Commerce and Navigation of this Kingdom, they that complain and call for help, can do no more than the Poor Spaniard, but with greater Truth renumerate the Ancient Honours, Priviledges and Opulency of our former Trade and Commerce: but that now is fallen to Decay, not by the influence of the Stars, but by the warm Beams of the Sun,

The Preface.

which out of the Muck and Filth of the Nation, hath rais'd Vermin that destroy the Industrious part of it : and these Complaints like the Spaniards Harangue, seldom reach farther than the Streets, I mean to such as walk them, they come not so near as the Foot-stool of the Throne, not all the Ministers of State disturb themselves with such Mechanick Thoughts ; and others there are who Treat it as the Plain-dealing Prophet was, bid go to some other Place, and not complain in——for it is the King's Court.

I need not repeat what was the Fate of that Monarchy where Truth could not be spoke, nor shall I do more than lay things for better Judgments to consider, and that there may not be Room for such faulty Men that have been the chief Instruments in the misfortunes of these Kingdoms, to contest the Account given of them, I shall submit the following Queries.

1. Whether the establish'd Fees or Salleries of Men in Employments, can fairly raise such great Estates as some Men have got in the last Reign ?

2. Whether so many Thousands, both in Land and Sea Service, would complain if they were paid according to the Provision made for them by Parliament.

3. Whether

The Preface.

3. Whether it were possible for so many Men, against whom Complaints have been made, to withstand them all, if their secret Gains had not furnished them with invincible Intercessors.

If these Queries have matter of Fact in their Womb, as they have already had in their several off-springs; the next Inquiry will be, what effect they have always had, and what may be further expected from them? And this brings me into my Province of Trade, for however some may censure that I am out of it when I speak of things relating to Civil Employments, yet I think they have such dependance on Trade, that one cannot be handled without the other; they who would divide that Child of the Nation, Trade and Government, which I take to be but one United Body, show themselves Harlots in the Common-wealth; that having over-laid the first, would justify themselves by affirming they are the Parents of the latter.

Our Condition runs Paralel, yet farther, the true Mother, that is the solid and quiet part of the Nation, when the Hand hath been lifted up ready to strike the fatal blow, have cryed out to give the Child to the Imposter rather than destroy it. Thus far our Case hath resemblance to the Complaint before Solomon, I wish it continued so to the last Decision.

The Preface.

But to return to the Enquiry, what effect this management hath had in the Kingdom? and that seems to have been double in its mischiefs.

The first in the publick Tax and Charge on the Nation.

The second in the wasting and decay of the Manufactures Trade and Navigation of the Kingdom.

For that of the Tax and Charge of the Nation, there are those whose Negoce and Business in publick matters, among the several Offices gives them opportunity to know much, who say, less than two thirds of what hath been charg'd, might have with much more Justice and Satisfaction to all Persons concern'd, discharg'd all publick Payments due both for Land and Sea Service. If this be true, as there is too much Reason to believe, what is then become of more than Thirteen Millions Sterling, said to be missing? A Sum that would have been thought when we were better able to spare it, more than the Nation would part with to purchase a Kingdom, and is more than all the Monarchs of England in former Ages, ever expended to secure this.

Upon serious Reflection, the Reason why these Men are undisturb'd, is as plain as that
of

The Preface.

of the Spanish Vice-Roy, who being call'd Home upon great complaints for Corruptions in his Government, upon his Arrival at the Groyne, Writes to the Prime Minister at Madrid, to know how he stood at Court? To which he answered, it is said here that you have Cheated the King of Four Millions of Pieces of Eight, if it be true, you are safe, if not, you are undone.

This seems to be our Case, or so many Millions of Mony would not be so quietly past over. Some make it a Question, which would be the greatest management, to perswade a Nation out of Forty Millions, upon a fair pretence of making a War with their Enemies, or to cover and protect those that get so great a part of what is given? if there were Room for wonder, how could it be answered, that in such Numbers of Criminals, there should not one so much as receive a Rebuke: but they have the Vice-Roy's Receipt, before mentioned. And that which made a worse Prospect is, that the Evil seemed Fortified within Walls and Bulwarks, and none have come off without Loss that have attacked them.

If this be our Case, I must own Treatises on Trade are as vain as his labour who provided Materials for Building a House, but wanted ground to Erect it on. Moral ho-

The Preface.

Justice is the foundation of Trade as well as Government, and that Nation which is Managed without it, may hang their Harps upon the Willows in a strange Land, for if we credit Ancient or Modern Story, the Destruction of a Nation first begins within its own Bowels, the Avarice and Immorality of their own Government; neglect of Trade and Navigation, brings Poverty and Want among the Poor, and leads them into the slavery of Foreign Powers, and they will run into it for Bread, rather than starve at home, and that they do, is Fact that cannot be denied.

No Age ever shewed such an Army of English Pyrates, and whatever cause may be assigned for it, want of full Employment for our Seamen at home, forces them abroad. Law can no more inclose them, then Parks can Wild Fowl, 'tis the best Wages draws Seamen, and where there is little Employment, there is small Wages.

I have often thought there is no part of the Nation deserves so much encouragement, as those Employed at Sea, and yet there is none have less. If this were thoroughly considered, perhaps it would find the first care of the Parliament, for that our Sea-Men are our Defence and Treasure; and in this we have the advantage of Kingdoms in a Continent;

The Preface.

inent; their Land Armies are a charge and a burthen to the Country they defend; but our Sea Armies may be made as useful to Enrich the Nation as they are to serve it, and unless the Parliament find out better ways than yet we have to increase them, our Trade and Navigation will end at Madagascar.

We should consider, that our Navigation can neither be kept or enlarged by the same Methods it had its former growth: we had then no Competitors, but we have now so many and powerful, that we may reasonably fear a time when our Navigation must be managed, as the Jews Built the Walls of Jerusalem, one hand in the Work, and the other to hold a Weapon.

In my humble Opinion, the longest Contest and last Decision, will determine upon the Ocean; and though few consider it, the Nation has lost more than the value of a Kingdom, by our neglects at Sea.

I do with submission, think the loss of Employment for Forty Thousand Sea-Men, greater then all the Product of the Three Kingdoms. 'Tis an Immense Sum to bring here in Figures, what the returns fetch'd out of the Seas, such a number of Men would make; for the gain of Fishing is solid, brings in Bullion, whereas the greatest part of our
other

The Preface.

other Trade, consists in Unprofitable Importations consumed in the Kingdom, and were it not for the Trade of our Foreign Plantations and that of Ireland, we had by this day been such Masters of Trade and Navigation, as are the Spaniards; Yet it is in memory since that People push'd for the Universal Monarchy, and had had it, if their Dominion had been more at Sea and less at Land; but that English Men whom God and Nature have fram'd as Inhabitants of the Deep, should quit their own Element, and be led into Delusions I must not name; is a mortifying Consideration; and the more wonderful if it should be done by a very few Men, whose fortunes are to be made by Offices and Employments; but it is hoped, such will be distinguished from Men of substance that design the Universal good of the Nation, which can only be by the advance of Manufactures and Navigation; the growth of fortunes by those Employments, would give more satisfaction to the Nation than Estates got by handling Publick Money, because by the first, the Common-wealth grows great, but by the latter, it decays: and those worthy Patriots that are now Employed in searching into the vast Sums rais'd for Publick use, deserve double Honour for their Indefatigable labour

The Preface.

labour in that work, which the great Council of the Nation in their Wisdom has intrusted them with ; and from so good an Introduction, it is hoped, further enquiries will be made for the Publick good of the Nation ; where things may be offered, which perhaps would not be safe in a Preface, though it gave demonstration how the Taxes might be lessened, and how great part of the charge of the Poor might be saved, and they better provided for than now they are ; and that which is yet more, Transmute those feet of Clay into Silver, turn the growing Poor of the Nation into hands of Industry, profitable to themselves and the Nation.

It is unaccountable that we should, as in truth we do, want People, yet know not how to Employ those we have : For which Reasons may be given, if a Parliament take it into their Care ; and there is ground to expect it now, for Blessings to a Nation seldom come alone ; and it appears so by the success we have had in this happy Reign, in which I think there has been already more done against our Enemies, then there has been since the Reign of her Royal Pattern.

May Her Reign Exceed, and Her Glory Excel, is the Prayer of all Good Men.

THE

The Preface.

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to supply it; or what we have: For which Reasons
may be given, if a Parliament take it into
their Consideration, and that it should be expected
from the Legislature to a Nation seldom come
about; and it appears to be the People we
have that in this happy Kingdom in which I
think it is not only our duty but our advantage
and interest to see them that have been the
Rulers of our Royal Patrimony.

May Her Royal Highness, and Her Grace
Duchess of Devonshire, of all Good Men.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

THE Introduction Page i.
Essay I.

*Who are most proper to be heard in matters
Relating to Trade and Navigation. p. 13*

Essay II.

*Whether Projects to supply Money, seems the
most likely way to bring Gold or Silver
into the Kingdom, or rather the readiest
way to carry it out. p. 18.*

Essay III.

X *Whether our Trade, though in outward ap-
pearance much more than it was in the
Reign of King Charles the II. brings in
as much Bullion as it then did. p. 25.*

Essay IV.

X *The Advantage and Possibility of abating
the Excess of our Expences in Foreign
Commodities. p. 35.*

Essay V.

*That the full Employment of all Hands in
the Nation, is the surest Way and Means
to bring Bullion into the Kingdom. p. 45.*

Essay

The Contents.

Essay VI.

*That the Woollen Manufactory of England
would be greatly enlarg'd by Cheapness of
Provisions.* p. 53.

Essay VII.

*Who will encrease their Navigation, Strength,
and Treasure by our Naval War ; and
who will decline by it in both.* p. 57.

Essay VIII.

*The Advantage of a Union between England
and Ireland.* p. 66.

Essay IX.

*Some Remarks on the Trade of Ireland, as it
stood in the Year 1675, to the Year 1681
Inclusive, and from the Year 1695, to the
Year 1698.* p. 80.

*Abstracts of the Importations and Exporta-
tions for the Years 1681, 1695, 1696.
1697, and 1698.*

Essay X.

*Imports into England from Ireland, in the
Year 1698 ; with Observations how they
are Manufactured and Improved in Eng-
land.* p. 108.

Essay XI.

*That the Woollen Manufactory of England
cannot be managed to the Advantage of
the Nation, without the Wooll's of Ire-
land.* p. 116.

Essay

The Contents.

Essay XII.

*Whether time of War, and when great Taxes
are on the Nation, be a proper Season for
taking the Poor under Consideration, so as
to Relieve and Provide for them better
than now they are.*

p. 119.

*A Letter to a Gentleman in the Country,
Relating to the Electing of Parliament-
Men.*

p. 125.

Adver-

Advertisement.

*Essays formerly Written by the same
Author viz.*

OF Naturalizations. Of providing
for Foreign Protestants. Of the
Dispose of Sheep's-Wooll. Of Free Ports.
Of Exports of Foreign Importations. Of
a Council of Trade. Of Prohibitions. Of
Sumptuary Laws. Of Working-Schools.
Of the *Newfoundland*-Trade. Of Navi-
gation and Seamen. Of Building of Ships.
Of the Art of Navigation. Of Banks.
Of Agriculture.

THE INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH *Trade* and *Navigation* were the Chymists that first transmuted our Native Product into *Gold* and *Silver*; and that Bait lewer'd our Rustick and Ignorant Hands into Mechanick Arts and Labour, yet now we are said to use our best Friends, Manufacture and Navigation, as Young Heirs do Old Servants of their Families, with Neglect and Contempt; they have no use for them, their Estates are settled, Rents well paid, they see no Want nor Decay.

In the Park Numbers as great, Equipages as splendid as ever; to disturb these Gentlemen with *Tar* and *Fish-Hooks*, Manufactures at Home and Navigation Abroad, is of no more use than a Lecture of Metaphisicks to a *Tire-Woman*. And as these Men of Ease and Pleasure allow not themselves leisure to Read or Think; so there is another set of Men of a more pernicious Nature, and destructive to the Common-wealth, that suppress and declaim against any Monition of the common danger the Nation is in: These are those who enrich themselves at the publick

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Charge,

Charge, work under Ground, and are visible only by the Mole-Hills of Fortune, they so soon turn up.

There is yet a third sort of Men that live by *Trade and Commerce*, and yet are no Friends to a *Treatise of it*, because a Scrutiny into all the Manage and Conduct of Commerce may discover some practices, though profitable to *particular Men*, yet greatly prejudicial to the *Nation in General*.

Now from all these Men, the following Sheets can expect no better Entertainment than that of the *Silversmiths*; and though their *Number* are but few, if compared to the Body of the Nation, yet their *Noise* will be greater because they are touch'd in the most sensible part that immediately affects them: But the Body of the Nation either assign their Poverty to Casualty, or the War, which as yet has done us no harm, nor will, if the Trade of the Nation be rightly considered, and the publick Money duly managed; but if the care of both these should fall into Hands that are Strangers to the first, and too long Acquainted with the practice of the latter, we shall not number Years to the Date of our Ruin.

This Truth is so obvious, that there needs no more but to open our Eyes, and we shall see that our Manufactures, Navigation and Fishing, have been Travelling out of *England* ever since the Year 1640, and that they Lodg'd first in *Holland*, then in *France*, and are now spread as far as *Denmark* and *Sweedland*.

Now

Now if this be fact, as it cannot be denied, is there not Reason for the Nation to enquire into the cause of our declining in that which is our support?

It is a dreadful Symptom to see a People Senceless under publick Calamity, we should think a Farmer in the Country Distracted that should let his Neighbours take away his Manure, Hire his Men and his Plow from him, and he sit still contented, that he hath better Land, and shall do well enough though he neither Plow nor Sow. Do not we so? We have lost, or rather given up the most considerable Navigation, Fishing and Manufactures of the Nation, but of this I have said something elsewhere, so shall not come to particulars here, only that we employ in the *East-Land, Greenland* and *Newfound-Land* Fishing, not so many Ships by Five Hundred, nor so many Men by Twenty Thousand, as we did in the Reign of King *James* the First. This not said on a Random Guess, but taken out of the several Ports of the Kingdom. x

If this were considered, and with it how many more we should have added to our former Numbers, if we had but gradually increast as the *French* and *Dutch* have done: Sure it would Rouse up the *English* Lyon, but I fear our misfortunes have been, that those in whose Power it was to help us, did not allow themselves time to Read.

I remember to have heard one that had been a Parliament Man, say, That it was Exports and Imports that Ruin'd the Kingdom: And another, That he wondred any Body would

trouble themselves to Read Books of Trade, with an Oath, how have they done this Five Hundred Years? It was answer'd, Above Two Hundred Years encreasing their Trade and Navigation, but it will not be half the time in losing, if it hath no better Friends than you.

It is hoped there will be Men of better Understandings in this Parliament, to out Number those whose Genius hath for some time lead them to the Manufacture of Offices, and that there will be as much time spent in finding out ways and means to regain our Trade and Navigation, as for the finding out Funds to pay our Armies and Fleets.

X It would be mortifying to *Englishmen* if we brought Maximes of Government from *France*, yet I could wish we took Precedents from them in the Conduct of Trade.

X The first thing they did after the last War was upon the Peace, to Order in every Marine and Trading Town in *France* a Committee of Trade, which was to represent to the Supream Committee of Trade in *Paris*, whatever they thought was to the Benefit and Improvement of the Trade of that Place.

This in my Poor Opinion, was the right way to make a Harmony in Trade, so that one part may not interfere with the other, as it does with us, to a confusion like that of *Babel*.

I might name particulars here, but fear giving Offence, knowing that a Discourse of this Nature will meet with Envy and Folly enough to ridicule it: however, there are Men
in

in the Kingdom that do consider, and to such I Write.

We see the consequence of loosening our Trade and Navigation, how far it hath already advanced the *French*, whose Admiral, in my Memory, carried but Fourteen Guns; from *Us* they were supplied with *Newfoundland* Fish, and from *Ireland* with Herrings. Now they supply *Spain* with the first, and probably the last; and all Fish from *England*.

He that should, Sixty Years past, have wrote of Trade, and told us that this would happen, and that the *French* would be able to contest the Sovereignty of the Seas, with the *Dutch* and *English* at once, would have been laugh'd at; but we see it is come upon us, and the same is growing in *Portugal*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*. These Nations do not slight and ridicule a Council of Trade, nor make them a *sine Cure*.

If *France*, and others, have by *Councils* and *Methods* in *Trade* drawn away so much of *Ours*, why should not we take the *same way* they do? if not to regain what is lost, yet at least to keep what we have left.

I wish our *Nobility* and *Gentry*, whose *Hereditary Estates* put them above the common Fear of Want, did look back to the time of their *Ancestors*, and see the *Rent Roles* in *H.* the *Eighths* Reign, compare them with what they are now, then consider what they have advanced: Is it not our *Manufactures* and *Fishing*, that have done it? But then we had no *Rivals* in *Trade* and *Navigation*; now we are surrounded with them that are *Industrious* in all,

and if we are not so, we shall change Fortunes with them, they were once a Poor People and we a Rich; but that will not be all, we shall not be so safe in poverty as they were.

England is the Jewel of *Europe*, worth Fishing for, never to be got but when Poor; cut off its Locks, *Trade* and *Navigation*, and we shall soon have *Sampson's* Fate.

To me it is astonishing, that our greatest Men are not Alarm'd to see our Declention at Sea, that we are forc'd to break in upon the Act of Navigation, which hath, under God, preserved the Nation these Forty Years; when all our *Armies*, *Acts of Parliament* and *Confederacies* could not have done it without that Act.

I wou'd ask what Figure we should make in this Age of *War*, if we had neither *Money* nor *Seamen*; and we shall have neither, if we lose our Trade and Navigation: And does it not look that way, when as I said before, we are forc'd to open a Gap in the *Bank*, that hath for Forty Years preserv'd what we have left of our Navigation; Yet there seems a necessity to it, for the Regaining I cannot say, but to learn the Art of Whale-fishing, which we were the first Masters of, of any in *Europe*, and are now to learn of *Them* that have got it from Us.

The *Dutch* and *Hamburghers*, not to name the *French*, Imploy near Twenty Thousand Men in the *Greenland*-fishing, and we not One. The advantage of which to the *Dutch* appears by this Years fishing, having taken 600 Whales, which at a moderate Computation, may be accounted

counted to amount to near 300000*l.* without expence of either Money or Commodities. We had once almost all the Trade of *Russia*, but the *Dutch* imploy now near 40 Sale of great Ships in that Trade.

We formerly imploy'd in the *Iseland* and *Northern-fishing*, more then 10000 Men and now not 1000. The *French* that used to take off much of the Fish, having Prohibited all Fish but what is taken by themselves.

An Old Trader of *Yarmouth*, tells me that he remembers when there went out of that Port more then *Forty Sail* a Year to the Northern Fishing, and that Three Years since there went but *Two*, and now *none* at all.

I mention not the Trade into the *Sound*, *Newfound-land - Fishery*, *White Herrings*, &c. But to Sum up all, it will appear we have lost the imployment of more then 40 Thousand *Seamen*, and yet want Men for that little Trade and Navigation we have left. In *September* last, I heard an Eminent Merchant of *London* complain, that he and several others, have had their Ships Loaden in the River of *Thames* for Two Months, yet were not able to send them out for want of *Seamen*, tho' there were no Press, and notwithstanding they offered Three Pound a Month, and Three Guineas advance for Men, that formerly might have been had for Twenty shillings. These Reflections in my poor Opinion, are more frightful then a *French Army* Landed in *England*, That we might hope to beat, but this of consuming our *Seamen* insensibly, brings us into a condition without defence, a Prey to the next
B 4 that

that pleases to take us into protection. I confess I have sometimes thought we shall come to that intollerable fall, for what ever wise heads may think, in my weak judgment, who ever commands the *Sea* are Masters of us without *Fighting*.

If the *French* dare Engage us and the *Dutch* at *Sea* in *Conjunction*, what may he doe if we were apart.

We are not always sure of *Allies*, and is it no crime to think *Englishmen* love to stand on their own *Leggs*, as we might do in defiance of all our *Enemies*, if we did secure our *Marine Trade*, for 'tis that feeds our *Manufactures*.

We want not *Hands*, nor *Materials* to enlarge them, to double the quantity we ever made, but we have always been cramped in our *Forreign Markets*, and *Vent* abroad, which must proceed from our ill *Conduct*, when we have such multitudes of *Poor* wanting *imployment*, and yet we are forc'd to send out our *Wooll* to *France*, *Holland*, &c. to be wrought: But that we are forc'd to it when so many *Laws* are made to prevent the *Exportation* of our *Wooll*, seems a *Contradiction*, tho' in *Reallity* it is so, that both in *England* and *Ireland*, there is a force on the *Subjects* to send their *Wooll* abroad.

It is a usual Expression in *Trade*, that a *Man* is forc'd to seek a *Market* when he cannot have it at home.

Now *Sheep Masters* tells us, they cannot pay Rent if *Wooll* yields not Six or Seven *Shillings* this *Year* a *Tod*; and *England* does not work up two thirds of what they have in both *Kingdoms*, so be import'd & instead of ascribing the the *Exportation* of our *wool* to our not working up a sufficient *Quantity*, may be not more rationally suppose the *Depression* in working is owing to the *Exportation*.

then there is a necessity upon them either to Burn or Export it : The *Dutch* are said to do the former, when they exceed in their Spices, but it is not practicable in this case.

To write all that might be said to this of our Wooll and Woollen Manufacture, would make a Volume ; They who please but to Read three or four Pages of what I have already Printed on this Occasion, will see reason to enquire into, and to consider this matter. I have seen a Scheme in my humble Opinion that would do the work, and save the charge of a Naval War of *Owlers* against our selves.

But the Gentleman that hath it, hath been so ill used, he knows not who to trust with it, and I think he hath reason, what he relates being Fact, which otherwise would be incredible.

It is a misfortune lamented by considerable Men that of late Years, the Nation has run more upon *Projects, Stock-jobbings, &c.* then upon *Trade and Manufactures*, and that renders *solid Thoughts and Measures* for Trade uneasy to some, whose Province it might be to consider it ; But *Projects* that bring in immediate gain are better received.

A Gentleman upon a discourse of this nature, told me he once offered to a Noble Lord then in a great Post, a Paper which the Lord flung him back, asking him if he thought he had nothing to do but read papers, to which the Gentleman answered, *it was pity he had till he read more.* It were to be wish'd that Spirit of a great Minister in *France* were here, that said he thought his time well spent in Reading a Hundred Proposals

posals for Trade and Navigation, if but one of them hit.

That Nation grows great, and will be so where *Plants* of Trade thrive in *Court Gardens*. 'Tis those productions that have made *France* so Opulent. Shorten them in their Trade and Navigation, their numerous Armies will devour one another: there is no foraging for Money, and Soldiers will have no temptation to Fight without it, and I fear our dangers lies that way. We may have Tears from the people but not Taxes, if our Manufactures and Navigation sink, and how they should do otherwise is not visible where the best Men are *silent*, and the worst *Crow*, for which they have not so much as the Proverb, *on their own Dunghill*, perhaps not Born to, or possessors of an Acre.

It would seem extraordinary in the days of our Fore-fathers, for such Men to set up a Management in Parliament; they would hardly have been brought to hear, much less trust them, whose business it was to work out their fortunes by their Tongues: And may they do it in the way of their profession as worthy Men do? rather then out of publick funds, either by magnifying them in Notion, or lessening them in Practice; and though such practices have the fortune to pass off in the Crowd of mistakes, yet the malignity of them is found in the Trade and Manufacture of the Nation.

Numbers drove out of their Houses, others forc'd to the charge of more then they are worth to keep them, payment of Publick Debts delay'd, and being due to Men in Trade, is like
taking

taking away Seed-corn from the Plow. Trade in these Kingdoms is blood in the body, Circulates in every Vein. A stop in the Circulation endangers the whole, and whoever projects *Publick Taxes for Private ends*, is an Enemy that *sowes Tares in the night*. These Men will be no more, friends to discourses of Trade; then was a certain person who said a Book was a Libel, because of a passage in it *that it was a misfortune to have Knaves in Publick employments*; but Men will do more then say so if they come to want Bread: and there are more that earn it by the labour of their *hands*, then by that of their *heads*.

They are best employ'd that consider our Trade and Navigation, and employment of the Poor of the Kingdom: 'Tis those that eat their Bread by the sweat of their brows, that pay our Rents at home, and fight our Battles abroad, but they can do neither no longer then Trade and Navigation supports them.

We should therefore hug them in our Bosoms, and not let them beg at our doors: take as much care of them as a Father does of his Children.

I think him a great Man that employs Twenty Men at his Looms, and Five Hundred Spinners, and wonder we have no more such in Parliament: They deserve double Honour that promote Industry to encourage our Trade and Manufactures; and when it is Heartily set about, Men that now slight the Poor as useless or burthensome will be distinguished in the following Discourse. I have given my Humble
Opinion

Opinion when we *mistake* and *neglect* the *Interest of Trade*, and according to the best of my Judgment and Experience show how I think we might retrieve *part* of what we have lost, for *all* we never can.

I shall keep the Reader no longer in the Introduction, but to affirm that in the following Sheets, I have not said any thing but what I think true, and with submission to better Judgment can justify, and though it cannot be denied that there never was so ill a prospect of our Manufactories, Fishing-Trade and Navigation, yet I presume it possible even at this time to lay such a Foundation for regaining and securing it, as may keep the Trade and Navigation Alive, which is now languishing.

I have in the following Essays, left out several Topicks on Trade, that were designed for it, but for Reasons I defer them for another Part, in which I shall be obliged to shew the Root of our Decay : though I believe, if what is here said, meets not with consideration, nothing will, but the lowder cries of the Poor ; and I wish it may go no farther.

ESSAY

ESSAY I.

*Who are most proper to be heard in matters
Relating to Trade and Navigation.*

THIS may be thought a Question out of Question, answered by the Universal practice of Mankind. *Divines* are not consulted in *Physick*, nor *Physicians* in matters of *Law*; the meanest Understandings advising with Men in their own *Faculties*: but although this is practice in particular Conduct, yet in the Publick it may not be so: and from hence it may be thought, springs all the Evil Plants and Weeds that grow in the Vineyard of Trade and Navigation.

Two difficulties lie in the way if it be Impartially handled. First, *that of a Council of Trade*, which may not always be Infallible; and the less so, if their Experience in Trade, bares not some proportion with their greater Judgments in other things.

I had the honour to be by when a great Minister (so in all Respects) discoursing with a Noble Lord, who asserted things in Trade that wanted a Foundation. His Grace said, *I fear my Lord you are mistaken, for Knowledge in Trade comes not by Inspiration, but by Practice.*

Now

14 E S S A Y S o n T R A D E .

Now if it should happen that in Writing of Trade, *Experience* should be brought against the *Opinion* of a Council of Trade, it might seem to Arraign their Judgments, which to avoid, I will pass by that *Province* and come to the other *Difficulty*, which is a *general Opinion taken up by Men of the best judgments: that Treatises of Trade are of little use, as proceeding from Men of Invention, without the least Foundation or Experience of what they write.*

This Consideration hath for some Years stop't my Pen, and though my former Endeavours of this kind, met with a general Approbation, yet I have with difficulty been prevailed upon to Engage a second time.

But my Friends have turn'd my own Artillery upon my self, telling me that the greater the mistakes are which come abroad, the more occasion there is for something to set them right; and among other things, I think this might be one: that no *Treat* Relating to Trade or Navigation, should be admitted to the Press, but what had first the Sanction of a Council of Trade, made up of such as have more than the Broad-Seal to qualify them. But Treatises on that Subject, because seldom Writ by Men of Learning, are pass'd over without Inspection, upon Supposition that Mechanical Notions will not disturb the Publick; but with Submission I fear they may: The Majority of the Nation are concern'd in Manufacturies, Trade and Navigation; and wrong Notions put into their Heads, may take them off from their *own* Experienced Methods, and carry them into Projects

ESSAYS on TRADE. 15

jects, and other Countries to try their fortunes. A loss not seen, though creeping on the Nation, and of the most fatal consequence. The Bodies of Men being under God, the Strength and Treasure of a Nation: and yet I believe there is no People under Heaven less consider it than we of these Kingdoms.

Now as I believe crude and indigested Notions on Commerce, &c. Should not be permitted abroad. So on the other hand, I think it of great use to have the Manage of our Manufactures, Trade and Navigation every day considered.

I must own to me it seems as necessary, as for a General of an Army to consider his Marches, and those of his Enemies: we are the same in our Trade and Navigation. Our Neighbours, as well Friends as Enemies, are every day moving upon us in their Manufactures, Fishing and Navigation. I suppose this cannot be denied by our wits, who nauciate discourses of Trade: If then we see by *Consults* and *Methods* in Commerce, our Neighbours have *got*, and we *lost* the best part of our Trade; is it not reasonable that we should every day mind their Motions, and enlarge our own?

I perswade my self, that he who least considers this matter would be very angry, and doubt his Rent if he saw his Tenant quit plowing, buy his Corn of his Neighbour, and spend his time in making fine Gardens, setting of Flowers, &c. This needs no Explanation to such as I design it.

But

But then to come to the Question, who are most proper to be heard ? and (I may add) to be Judges in matters relating to Trade ?

I do not think this was ever a Question in any Kingdom but ours, nor here many Reigns ; though of late Years, we have not seen Numbers even in Publick Employments, chose for their Qualifications in the Posts they are put, I mean in *Civil* Employments ; for *Military*, better Conduct hath been used. But in *Trade* and the *Revenue*, which paid for all, there hath been other measures taken for Reasons not to be mentioned : but whether such Management advances either Trade or the Revenue, I submit to Judgment ; and end this Section with this, that they who have had the *largest* and *longest* practice in *Trade* and *Manufactory*, are the best Judges how it may be kept and *improv'd*. And I am also perswaded, that the Nation is in no small danger in this Case.

The Wisest of Men tells us, *the Oppression of the Poor is like a swelling Rain*, when they come to want, they level all before them.

It is easier to *prevent* than *reduce* an *Insurrection*, and there is *none* so dangerous as *that* which hath no Weapons but *Teeth* : Our Laws are said in some Cases to allow Impunity to those that steal for Food in Extremity of Hunger : and should such an Army enter Cities and Towns, nothing but an Army of *Turks* would Engage them ; *Eng'lishmen* would *Relieve* not *Destroy* their Brethren ; but it must be owned, our Charity and Compassion out-runs the wiser Conduct of other Nations, pardon the Expression,

ESSAYS *on* TRADE. 17

tion, *Idle Charity* is as much to be condemned as *Idle Beggars*, for indeed it makes them. If we look into the practice of other Nations, we shall find them joyn Art with Nature, Children to work, so that both grow together, better instructed by that one Command of Divinity, *viz. he that will not work, neither let him eat*, then by all the Learning of the Schools.

C O N T E N T S E S S A Y

ESSAY II.

Whether Projects to supply Money seems the most likely way to bring Gold or Silver into the Kingdom, or rather the readiest way to carry it out.

TO Write against *Projects, Stock-jobbing, &c.* In an Age of *Projects*, is like arguing against Transubstantiation in Rome; However, I go on with my Principles of offering that which I think to be the *Interest* of the Nation, and if I mistake, yet it may do some service to put better Heads upon the thoughts of that which so much concerns us.

I cannot think but considering Men see we want better Conduct than we have now in the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and particularly in that relating to bringing in Bullion; For to be pleased with the noise of Forreign Imports that adds nothing but Fewel to the Excess of our Luxury and Expence, is evidence of a Prodigal, but not a provident People.

But to come to the question: whether Projectoral Money by Notes or any other way to answer the use of Money in Specie, be the way
to

to bring Bullion into the Kingdom, or rather the ready way to carry it out?

In giving answer to this Querie, I shall be oblig'd to clash, not only with the Opinion, but the Practice of the times; for which I give these Reasons following.

First, I believe that nothing will purchase Bullion but that which is more valuable abroad (where it is to be had) than the Gold and Silver we have from them.

Now I do not believe that Exchequer Bills or Mail Tickets, would purchase Gold and Silver in the *Spanish West-Indies*, because they can neither Wear nor Eat them. However, they are of use here in time of want of Money, as private Mens Bonds are to one another. But those Men who support their Trade by such credit, do it with great disadvantage to those that deal with ready Money, and so it may be thought may the Publick.

But it may be said that the Nation loses nothing by it, since whatever Extraordinary Rates the Government gives, for what they buy, goes among our selves: if it were so, as I shall prove it is not, yet I think it a misfortune to the Publick in general; for by this means, Taxes are increas'd as much, at least, as the Government pays more then ready Money would purchase without their Bills.

Secondly, Expedients and Inventions to find out that which shall answer, specie of Gold and Silver, brings in none, but hinders and prevents its coming in.

It is a common and approv'd Proverb, that necessity is the Mother of Invention. It is in the nature of Man to take up with that which comes in with most ease : as it is in particular Men, so it may be in Government ; and if a quire of Paper can do the work of 500, 000 pounds, the first is easier got than the latter.

If nothing could be found to supply the want of Money but Gold and Silver, every Man's head and hands would be set to work to bring it in, and that must be by Labour, Manufactures, Navigation and Fishing.

A Cargoe of Projects were they sent round the Globe, would not pay Seamens wages. That Country is in a Dropsey that swells and looks big with its Diseases, as all Expedients for Money are ; and if continued long, Mortal.

This may be Explain'd to every Understanding, but I think Remedies are better then Remarks, and therefore shall say no more then to lay it before those in whose power it is to help us.

Secondly, Projects to supply the use of Money brings in no Bullion, but like *Jonas's* Gourd, quick in its Production, withers in a Night, and leaves those that trust to them to the want of shelter in a Day.

Projector Money is a Dellusion to that Nation that uses it, and of the worst consequence, because it plays away the Industry of the People.

It is familiar in Conversation amongst Tradesmen, that they had as good sit still as labour for Paper : one time or other that may fail, as the
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the Bank once did ; such Reflections as these, dwarf Trade and Manufacture, start unlucky Queries, and makes untoward Similes.

Indeed it seems a Mistry, if a Kingdom hath not more then Twelve Millions of Coyn in it, how it should pay Sixteen Millions, but that it circulates, and so is not immediately discern'd ; yet in time it will eat out the Capital, if ways and means are not found to bring in Bullion, and lay aside every thing that pretends to answer the use of it.

Fourthly, Expedients to answer the use of Money, carries out of the Kingdom the Silver and Gold, and leaves only the Notional Specie.

I remember it was for some time a Controverted Point, whether the advanc'd Names of our Coyns, were not an advantage to the Nation, and would not bring Money into the Kingdom ? yet that mistake is now understood by the meanest capacity ; so do I believe a little time will shew that Paper Credit hath carried out more of our Gold and Silver, then all our other Traffick, though we sent too much abroad other ways.

That Paper Credit, under which name may be reckoned any thing Transferable on Publick Funds, draws out of the Kingdom great Sums of Money, appears in purchasing Naval stores ; for which the Nation pays perhaps 20 *per Cent.* more then the Commodities would cost, were they purchased with ready Money, and that carried out by Forreigners.

We cannot think that all our Imports, especially

cially from the *Baltick*, are on *Englishmens* Accompts.

Now Merchants whither Native or Forreign, when they deal with the Publick on Credit, have three Accompts that they make up in one.

First, they charge the Original cost with an Additional charge of profit, and always something more then in dealing with private Persons.

Then they charge Interest for the time they give, and that must be double to answer their delays and the several doors they are to pass through.

The last, and not the least charge Merchants put upon Publick Credit, is, what we call a *Premio*, for insuring the Accidents of Publick Credit : all these three Particulars put together, make a great Article in the Publick Accompts, which in my humble Opinion might be saved ; for why should there not be as good Conduct for the Publick, as there is in Private Contracts betwixt Man and Man. I hear but of one Reason, and that is not to be spoke of but by them that can condemn it. *A Parliament.*

Secondly, Paper Credit carries out of the Kingdom great Sums of Money that Forreigners receive for Interest, and buying Tallies, &c. I believe it would be a most amazing Account, if the Interest Money and Sale of Publick Credit were brought into a Sum Total : when I name the Sale of Publick Credit, I mean how much they were sold for less then their value ; for what ever Mens Fears or Necessities may force them to, Publick Funds by Parliament
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are as good security as any Lands in *England*, for we hold our Estates no longer then we are governed by Laws, and Acts of Parliament are such.

But to come to the great Loss the Nation is under by this Traffick of Forreigners; for how ever it appears in *English* hands, it is very well known by some to be the least part of their Accompt, and what ever is got by this Trade is carried out of the Kingdom.

'Tis true, they leave their Principal here as long as they find Funds to place it on, but they have already carried out of their Interest, &c. more then their Principal; if it should then be found that the Nation hath so long lived upon borrowing, that their Capital is gone to pay Interest, where will be the Remedy?

We need go no further then our Neighbouring Kingdom *Ireland*, to show the Delusion of being Rich with other Mens Money.

After the last War, when the Coin was brought to a standard in *England*, it was raised about twenty *per Cent* above it in *Ireland*, upon which *Ireland* fill'd with Money more then they had use for: but as soon as Guineas fell from twenty six to twenty three, and other Coins in proportion, they who tumbled in their Money before, carried it out as fast, and left *Ireland* as it is, thus Poor to a Proverb: and so it will fare with any Country that fancies it self Rich with borrowed Money.

I have sometimes thought it would be as good service to the Nation, to show them the vast Sums that hath been paid for Interest, as it

was to King *James* the First, to show him the Money told out that he gave a Courtier, which so startled him, that he bid the Treasurer give but one heap, it was enough.

I have seen a Computation, and I believe it right, but it is so prodigious a Sum, that I fear to name it, as I do the consequence of such designs; but 'tis hoped, the great Council of the Nation will enquire into this matter, which if they do, I presume there will be an end put to that Traffick, and perhaps, something more then letting such a Criminal go without garbling.

Our Laws which make us the happiest People in the World, are severe against Champarties. I wonder it reaches not to those that buy Publick, as well as Private Debts.

It is Extortion to take above six *per Cent.* Interest from a Subject, but from the Publick no Crime.

If a Private Man finds himself wronged by his Steward, he makes him refund, does not turn him out of one Imployment and punish him with a better.

These things in my poor Judgment, deserve the Defection of a Parliament, and then the Publick Credit would be Superiour to any Private, and that would save the Nation a fifth part of their Taxes, and stop the stream that carries out our Gold and Silver.

I end this Section as I intend by all the rest, to propose nothing but what I think can be Demonstrated practicable; as I do here, that there is a way to Imploy the Poor in our Manufactures,

nufactures, Navigation and Fishing ; and they will be a solid foundation to the Nation, both for Treasure, Security, and bringing Mens thoughts from Imaginary Notions, place them upon real Employments for the Poor.

That would be the true Philosophers stone, turn your burthen into a Treasure ; the Bodies of Men are so, if imployed, and beyond that of Silver and Gold, because by their labour it is purchas'd, and by their numbers secured.

ESSAY III.

Whether our Trade, though in outward appearance much more than it was in the Reign of King Charles the II. brings in as much Bullion as it then did.

THIS Question is answered with good Authority, that of the *Mint*: and in that Account we find, as it was laid before the Parliament in the Year 1675, that there was decreased in the Coin from 1657, to the Year 1675, 5,291,009 : 19 : 4. Since that time our *Mint* hath been little better than a *sine Cure*, until it was imploy'd in the Coining, as well the *Plate* as the clip'd Mony of the Kingdom ; and however some may magnifie our Riches, by
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eight Millions being Coin'd: I think it shews the Nakedness of the Land, for by the general observation 'tis computed that of other Silver, there is not above one Million, and of Gold between two and three.

If this estimate be right, and there never was a better opportunity to make it by, than the calling in of all the clipt Mony in *England*, there is not in the Kingdom 12000000 of Money, for the computation is not made of the Passant Mony in the Kingdom, which would be as Imaginary as the number of Acres in the Land of the Moon. But for this estimate, there is a better Foundation.

If this then be our Capital, it is apparent our Trade is Consumptive, decays inwardly, and though for the present it may have a *fair shew*, I think it may be demonstrated that the continuance of such a Trade as we have had for some Years past, would in a few Years more bring us to be as *Rich*, without Gold and Silver, as *They* are good *Patriots* of their *Country*, who are without *Religion* or *Morals*, both of which are as essential to the Blessings of this *World* as that to come.

But to look a little into this *Wonder*, for so it may be thought, that a spot of Ground fuller for its proportion, of *Treasure*, than both the *Indies*, the Nature and use of them such, that our Neighbours cannot subsist without them, and that we should be so improvident to *Truck* away like *Indians*, our better than *Gold* and *Silver*, for *Toys* and *Trifles* !

This

This I call a Wonder, and that it is so, give me leave but to name some of the product of our Island, which may be reasonably supposed more than sufficient to ballance all the vanities and Luxuries of a *wanton People*, and yet have enough to make us the Richest People in *Europe*. I mean so in *Bullion*, for That we have now more Reason than ever to mind, it being the sinews of War, and the Powder all Nations fight with.

I begin with that we dig out of the Earth, *Tin, Lead and Coals*, a quarter of this might be thought too much to be dispos'd of for *Wines*, and another Trade to be considered hereafter; to this of our Native product is that of our *Woollen Manufacture, Leather, Provisions, Corn, Butter, &c.* To which we may add the Profit of our *Foreign Plantations*, which are indeed all we have left of our *Marine Traffick*, except the *Turkey-Trade*, that brings in clear Gain to the Nation.

'Tis true we have another Country, but what to call it is a Question, whether a *Province, Kingdom* or a *Plantation*, that lies very near us, and might be made as *profitable* as any part of the *English Dominions*; but it seems rather kept by *some Men* for *Uies*, of which in another place.

This Account which I here show but in little, is such *matter of Fact* as would astonish any other Nation: That out of such immense Treasure, growing whether Men will or no, we should not *save* as much as the *Box* does in Play.

If

If we had laid up or kept in the Kingdom but half a Million Sterling *per Annum*, since the Restauration of *Charles* the Second, as by a right Conduct in our Trade much more might have been laid up; our Treasure would have been more formidable to our Enemies, since the *Aphorism* is chang'd, *not the longest Sword*, but the longest *Purse*, Conquers.

But to return to the Question. Whether our Trade be as profitable to the Nation as it was in the Reign of King *Charles* the First.

By this Account it appears we every Year decline in our *Coyne*, and yet it cannot be denyed but we advance in our *Exports*: It is incredible how vast the exports of *Lead* exceeded former Ages, most of those Years our *Coinage* abated.

It was computed that there was more *Lead* exported from the Year 1660, to the Year 1678, than was in a *Hundred Years* before, and in some proportion was the exports of *Coals*.

The *Woollen Manufacture* indeed for some Years after the *Restauration* abated considerably, yet for *Ten Years* past, it hath advanc'd, notwithstanding the War. But there seems reason to fear our being beat out of great part of that by the *Swedes*, *Danes*, &c. who have found a way with their own course *Wool*, and a mixture of the *Scotch* and *Our* own, to make a course sort of Cloth that supplies the use of *Ours*: but of this more particularly when we come to compare our *Exports* and *Imports*: In the mean time I shall close this *Chapter* with the Account that was taken by Order of the *Government* of
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ESSAYS on TRADE. 29

all the *Exports* and *Imports* of *England*, from *Michaelmas* 97, to *Michaelmas* 98. Which stands thus,

The *Exports* that Year is valued at,

6, 361, 108, 10, 7.

The *Imports* for that Year are valued at,

4, 732, 360, 05, 6.

Now by this Account the Nation must gain 1,628,748,05, which if it did, this Kingdom would be like *Solomon's*, have Silver as plenty as the Stones of the Street.

But there is another way of counting that will bring down this Account, and the ballance on the other side, great part of which comes not in the Custom-house Books, as no prohibited Goods can, yet to the great prejudice of the Nation they get in, and perhaps when the Parliament shall think fit to look into Trade, the chief of our Laws of prohibition will be found defective; and till that be done, these Kingdoms will be loosers in their *Capital*, how ever bulky their Trade in *general* may show: and even by this Accompt, though I think that Year not so proper for an Estimate as the Years following, yet by that account it seems we are considerable loosers by our Trade, and that if some Extraordinary measures be not taken, the Nation will fall into the Extremity of want of Money before they feel it.

I might give several particulars but shall only mention one, that of *Forreign Money* in our *Publick Funds*; which some, whose Understandings

ings I cannot reach ; tell us, is clear gain to the Nation, that we have so much ready Money brought into the Kingdom. Perhaps we may in great part have *Specie* brought in for their Traffick in our Publick Funds ; but what *Interest* do they *receive* and *carry* out of the *Kingdom* ? I fear it hath been for Years past the greatest *drain* to the Nation, and which if continued, will sink us under a fair Gale.

But suppose here may be but *five* or *six* *Millions* of *Forreign* Money, when *that* and the *Interest* is carried out of the Kingdom, it will make a great hole in our 12 Millions. I have heard when this has been Represented to Men, in whose province it lay to take notice of it, and whose Answer was, that these discoveries ruined the Kings Business.

It is said by our most curious Enquirers into the Commerce of *Publick Funds*, that there hath been more then 12, 000, 000, carried out of the Kingdom by *Forreigners*, gained in buying *Tallies*, *Exchequer*, and *Mault Tickets*.

This Trade I have thought like the *Pestilence* that walks in Darkneſs, and have wondred that some of our Senators who were not concern'd in the *Rapine*, did not consider of some way to stop, and enquire into that Trade, which was Introduced by those that found ways not safe to name ; till there be a Disposition in the Nation to inquire into *Real* mistakes, we must give *soft* names to powerful Evils.

Upon the whole, for Reasons before given, it seems evident that the Trade of the Nation consumes in the Vital part, that of Money, and

a very few Years in War, may, if former management be continued, carry out the Money of the Kingdom, and leave us as the *Romans* found us, a Painted Nation without Gold and Silver.

I fear we mistake our *Strength* and *Riches*, neither of them lies in Men or full stock'd Land, they are so far from being our defence, that they cannot move without leading strings, *Money*.

What could we do with our *Fleets* and *Armies* without it? we might fear, but have no Reason to *trust* Force we cannot pay. Pray God this may not be our case, but it looks that way when Trade and Navigation is neglected.

That the *Taxes* for the *Poor*, are greater then in former Ages *they* were for the *Crown*, is matter of Fact; and however, we put the *evil Day* a far of: there is reason to fear our home Army of *Poor*, more then our *Enemies* abroad, and when 'tis too late, see our Error, in believing the Nation full of Money, because the Bank is so; though perhaps not half of it is ours; and the People Rich, because Men in Offices, tumble in the Bags of Publick Taxes.

If this be a right way of Computing the treasure of the Nation, we are the Richest People of *Europe*; but if we look into the Country to hear what our Clothing Traders and other Manufacturers say, we shall find our selves the Poorest; when we are told by the Richest Clothiers, that though they loose five Pounds Weekly by imploying the Poor, and pay Twenty Shillings a Week Tax to them, yet they are
forc'd

forc'd to imploy them, fearing they should pull down their Houses if they did not.

Upon the whole, I think the most infallible way of determining the question, (whether our present Trade brings in as much Bullion into the Kingdom, as it did in the Reign of King *Charles* the First) is by taking Accounts out of all the Parishes in the Kingdom, what was then paid to the Poor, and if it be found there was not then a sixth part paid of what is now, it follows, the Trade of the Nation was then more profitable then 'tis now, for there was more People then, than now, and if they had not been Imploy'd, must have been more Poor.

But there seems *two* spreading Evils that endanger the Nation, and the more, because they have powerful Friends.

One is the Extravagant Importations, which must not be spoke against, because they advance the Customs, which I think want as much Regulation in Parliament, as any thing in Trade.

The other is the number of Offices and great Sallaries, Perquisites, &c. attending them.

The first of these consumes that Money the Gentry formerly spent or imployed in their own Countries.

The Second takes up both Men and Money, that formerly were imployed in Trade, Manufacturies, and Navigation.

If you ask a Man that hath Sons, how he designs to dispose of them? perhaps one for the *Clergy*, another for the *Law*, and a Third for an *Office*; if he hath not Friends, two or three hundred Pounds will purchase one, and they

they will tell you no Men live so well as they that have an Office.

In my poor Opinion, these things increase our Poor, it puts me in mind of a Town I have seen, which was once a place of considerable Trade by *fishing*, but losing it, and the People having no Employment, fell into gaming one with another, to that degree, that they would play for the Meat in the Markets ; and being asked what they did that lost all, answered they went abroad to seek their fortunes.

I hope that will not be the Fate of *Englishmen*, yet how any People can long subsist that eat one another, I submit to Judgement.

Officers to Collect Taxes there must be, but half the number and half the charge might be saved : I think so many Men would be a great service to Trade, that now live on other Mens Labours.

Perhaps the great Council of the Nation will think fit to have the particulars of this matter laid before them, and then it will be seen what an Army of Eaters we pay at home, and what is done for it ; I should think no Men so proper Judges of this, as the *Parliament* ; they see in their Respective Shires and Towns what is done, when greater Men in *London* cannot ; and doth not the Nation as well, trust their Representatives to see the *laying* out of their Money, as the *raising* it ? If that had been done, the Nation probably would not have been sixteen Millions *sterling* in Debt, nor so many Men quit the Trades they were bred to, that employed the Poor in Arts and Labour, and take up Offices and Employments that make *Poor*, for so

it will appear they do, who raise great Estates out of Employments that fairly can but Feed and Cloth them.

There is a Mystery in these things fit to be inquired into, and until that be done, the Body of the Nation can no more thrive, than that of Man, when overspread with Wens and Excressences; such are those unnatural growths of Men in *Offices*, that without Labour or Funds of their own, become bulkey in their *Fortunes*, when Men of good Capitals and constant Labour are dwarf'd in *Theirs*.

There are no Men that grow extravagantly Rich by publick Employments, but Cheat the Nation. Every Man payes his *Quota* in the Taxes, which lies heavy on Trade and the Industrious part of the Nation; and that may be one cause of so many running from their Trades into Offices, where the Gain is sure, and Taxes limited at most to a *Fifth*, when in Trade it may happen to be more than *All*.

Upon the whole it seems reasonable to believe, that there cannot be so much *Bullion* brought into the Kingdom now, as when there was more in Trade.

It is against all experience, if a Country thrive where *Offices* exceed *Trade*, we need go no farther than *Spain* and *Holland*, the first *Poor* to a Proverb, the latter *Rich* to a Prodigie: in which the Sallaries from the publick never made a Man Rich, and in *Spain* few that ever were so, but by the *Publick*.

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ESSAYS on TRADE. 35

But *England* out-does them all, nor can it be equal'd in Story, what vast Estates have been rais'd by Offices.

When those Streams run into other Chânels, the Nation will be eas'd of their Poor, Trade increase, Navigation be enlarged, and every Hand imploy'd for the publick Benefit.

But when Government is made a Trade, Trade will have no Government.

ESSAY IV.

The Advantage and Possibility of abating the Excess of our Expence in Foreign Commodities.

IT is my misfortune to differ with some Men of weight in Trade, in this branch of it, as I must in some other things, which perhaps nevertheless might be reconcil'd, if there were as much care taken to consult the *Trade* and *Business* of the Nation, as there is of its *Diversion*. I hope I shall not be understood to declaim against *Regulated Sports*, when I only wish *Superanuated* and *Neglected Trade* might have as much of our Thoughts.

I begin with that of *Wines*, and in that we transgress two ways ; *First* in the *Rates* we pay
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for them; and then in the *excess* of our use of them, and in *both* these to the Reproach of our Nation, and the Wonder of our Neighbours: and it is the more unhappy, since as we raise the Price of *Foreign* Commodities, they lower the Rates of *Ours*, and by that, beat Us from the Original Trade, which was at worst to pay for *Wines* with our *Manufactures*; but most commonly we had *Money* to Boot. In my Fathers Time (who dealt much to *Spain*) the first Cost of *Sherry's* seldom exceeded *Twenty Pieces of Eight* the Butt, and that of *Canaries* not *Two Hundred and Eighty Ryals* Plate the Piece, and now the first seldom goes under *Forty*, and the latter *Eight Hundred*. And in the compass of my own Knowledge, almost as great a Rise has been on *French Wine*: The first Cargoe I was concern'd in from *Bourdeaux*, we had the best *Graes Wine* for *Twenty Four Crowns* the Tun, which I have lived to see Currant at *Forty Eight*. I give these few Instances, which I think enough to denominate us amiss in our Conduct in Trade. God has given us Understandings at least equal to other Nations; and a Country exceeding any in *Europe* for the *Product* of Nature and Scituation for Trade; and yet this, like the Fortune of a Debauch'd Heir, is consumed in Luxury, which might be thought worth the consideration of the great Council of the Nation how to restrain. But this or any other thing relating to the Trade of the Nation cannot be thoroughly understood in an *Hours Debate*, but would be better prepar'd by a Council of Trade, whose sole Business should be to consider and digest

digest all matters of Trade, so as to make them plain and intelligible to the Parliament. There being some times more harm done to Trade and Navigation by mistaken Remedies, than by the *Malady* that is designed to be Cur'd. I fear we shall too soon see this confirmed in that which I may not mention. But to return to that of *Wine*. By what hath been said, I presume it is apparent that there is great Damage done the Nation by the irregular manage of the Wine Trade; and that, if there were nothing else, is a weight on our Trade and Navigation, and would go a great way towards sinking the Treasure of the Nation, especially now that it is Imported in *Foreign Ships*, by which we are at all the Charge imaginable to gratify our *Luxury*, and though we pay, counting the measure, double what we did when the Trade of *France* was open for the Wine we Drink in lieu of the *French Wine*, yet we rather increase than abate our Consumptions. I think there is a Reason for encouraging our *Portugal Trade*, in opposition to the *French*, but there will then be several *Regulations* and *Restrictions* to be made before we are plunged over Head and Ears, into the delights of their *Wines* and other *Curiosities*. That may be done at the *Introduction* of a Trade which cannot when 'tis *Establish'd*.

The *Portuguese* have wisely laid hold of the Opportunity the former War put into their Hands to encrease their *Vineyards*; and we encourage them by our excess: So that when there happens a *Peace*, *England* will be Bid for by both sides, since both *France* and *Portugal* will

have Trinkets to please us : but if we were wise, we might make such a bargain, having our choice to take or leave, as might at least make the labour of our *hands* pay for the Gluttony of our *Appetites*, and if no more but that were done, it would make a great turn to our Advantage in the Wine Trade.

The next thing that I think we exceed in the Consumption of, is *Flanders Lace*. I have been particular on it in my former Essays, so have the less to say here : All I shall add, is, that it seems as reasonable to believe it, as practicable to quit that Extravagancy by a general consent to preserve a sinking Nation, as upon the Death of a *Prince*, a Mode is easily introduc'd, People being less apt to transgress a *Fashion*, than a *Law*.

I come next to a Consumption that is in every Respect *Foreign*, that I mean, which is the Materials that makes Gold and *Silver Lace*. This Vanity wastes the Treasure of the Nation, which if imployed on our *own Product*, might bring in as much *Bullion* as we consume in this War ; and if no more, that would be a considerable advance to the Stock of the Nation.

He would be thought Lunatick, that cloth'd his Family in Cloth of Tissue, when at the same time he left not Money to buy them Bread.

This seems to be our condition, there is not Money for the common use of the Nation, and therefore the Poor are not Imployed. I have never heard or seen that Gold and Silver Ornaments were used, where there was not Money to buy Bread for the Poor ; but have known,
where

where such Garments have been laid aside for fear of the *Mob*, in a time of scarcity. I remember to have seen a Gentleman in *France* forc'd to take Sanctuary, for but having Gold Lace on the Cape of his Cloak, in the Year 1657.

This mischief of *Gold*, and *Silver Lace* is easier remedied then either of the former. I know not a more Notorious Instance, after which I shall name no more, of our improvidence in needless Expence of Forreign Imports, then that of *Oyl*, *Whale-bone* and *Fish*: by this we may be thought to exceed the lazy *Irish*, who are slothful to a *Proverb*, and we are running into it to a *Prodigy*; that an Island whose security as well as Treasure, depends upon *Navigation*, should be supplied by Foreigners out of their own *Seas* in one *Case*, and brought to the use of a *Fish* that is not possible to be ever supplied by their own *Navigation* is unaccountable; as that of *Stock fish*, of which we use quantities in our Victualling at Sea, for which we have not so much as that slight Excuse, the *Vent of our Manufacturies*; for this is purchased with our Money, as most that we Import from *Norway* is, in which the Act of *Navigation* seems of good use, that so we may at least save that Money, which else, would go away in *Freights*, though perhaps not considered by them who are against that Bulwark of our *Navigation*.

I return to the other parts, that of *Whale-oil* and *Whale-bone*; this once so much our Trade, as that we supplied other parts with those Commodities, which now, at treble the former Value we purchase from the *Dutch* and

Hamburghers. That of double strangers Duty upon Fish, &c. taken and Imported by Foreigners, is not enough to retrieve a lost Trade; nor can I commend an after game in Trade; though 'tis said to be good at a game called *Irish*, which Nation are too well vers'd in managing of *after games* to the prejudice of the *Protestants* of that Country, in greater matters than that of *Play*.

I have hitherto only shown, and that but in part, (for it would make a Volume to enumerate all) what Commodities we consume of Foreign Imports, that do us prejudice for want of Regulation.

I now come to speak of the Advantage that would arise to the Kingdom, by the abating their *Excess* and *Growth*; and to do that, I conceive there will not need many words. The Maxim is thread bare, *that no place can be Rich, where their Imports exceed their Exports*; but in the Commodities afore mentioned, it is worse than in other cases, because they are mostly purchased with Money; therefore as much as we abate in them, so much we save or gain in the Stock of the Nation: that Money which is so spent, would turn to great Improvement by the Employment of the Poor.

I have often thought it a Vulgar Error, or at best, but part of the cause, that *Necessity is the Mother of Invention* in Manufactures. I rather believe that the abounding in Money in a Country, puts them upon Invention more than helpless *Necessity*; for my Opinion, I bring two Neighbouring Countries, in both which I have
been,

been, and observed the common People of each of them; the *United Provinces* in the East, and *Ireland* in the West.

The *First* are allowed by all to be an Industrious People, and we say it is a force upon them which makes them so, because they could not otherwise live.

The Native *Irish* are under great necessities, notwithstanding the plenty of that Country, and numbers Dye for want of Regular, and good Feeding, and Clothing. The *Dutch*, I mean the Peasantry and Labouring People, are Industrious, and grow Rich; the *Irish* are Idle and starve. Now here is *Necessity* on both sides, yet one perish, and the other thrive: that then which makes the difference, is, that *Holland* is full of *Money* and *Ireland* hath very little, from whence I Infer, that where Money abounds, even the Rich Men are forced upon Invention to employ their Money, and that gives Action to the Poor, and so it would be in this Kingdom if we had plenty of Money, for I do not think we have half of the Work done which there might be, if there were that plenty of Money that there is in *Holland*, and that we shall never have, until we abate our Expence of Foreign Imports; and when we do that, our Gentry may happily follow the Providence of all other Nations; lay out such Money as must otherwise rust by them in the Employment of Artisans, and that will Increase our Manufactures, and enable us to afford them Cheaper abroad: and this brings me to another *Error* we are possessed with in *England*, which is, that the *Dutch* have

have the labouring part of their Woollen Manufactories cheaper than we ; but it is just the contrary : they pay a Penny in the Shilling more than we, and yet Sell cheaper abroad, for which there are several Reasons.

One is, that they have all Foreign materials cheaper than we, as *Oyles, Dying Stuffs, &c.* those Poor People not being so wise as to lay Duties upon those necessary Importations which improve their Manufactory, nor so careful as we are to keep out Strangers, nor yet so just in maintaining Corporations in Old Antiquated Monopolies. *Another* Reason for their underselling us, is, their plenty of Money ; a Clothier there is not forc'd to give *Twenty per Cent.* as counting all things, many of them here are forc'd to do, but as soon as he has made a *Piece of Cloth*, whether he has a Chapman for it or not, he can have Money upon it for a consideration scarce to be felt. *Thus* having done with the Reasons, which I take to be Demonstrations of the Advantage it would be to this Kingdom to abate their expence in Foreign Imports.

It now remains that I shew the *possibility* of effecting so good a Work : And if I should say no more but that it may be done by making *Good Laws*, I doubt I might not answer the Readers expectation ; and yet I must do little more, for that it is dangerous attacking *United Force*, there are *Numbers* engaged in the *present Practice*, and usage, and such I would not offend, nor do pretend to so great a Judgment as to lay down a Model for *new Methods in Trade*, where
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so many are concern'd of better Heads and Experience than my self; but to them I would offer, whether there might not be a Regulation in the *Canary Trade*, so as to reduce it in some proportion to its former Rates?

Whether they believe that the Kingdom had not better be without their Wines, than purchase them with Mony, as in a considerable part we now do?

Whether there might not be a Regulation, or that which is better, a Prohibition of the *Zant Trade*? I am sure it hath grown from a small beginning to a most unaccountable Importation in that of *Currans*, they *Raising* their Prizes in that Country, and we *purchasing* them with ready Mony: nor is there that to be said for this *Commodity*, as for the most of our other Extravagancies: *Some* we must abate, and I know of *none* that hath less to support it than hath this of *Currans*.

It is a Reproach to the highest degree to our Conduct in Trade, to suffer the *Venetians* to raise their Customs so often upon that *Commodity*, and that for no Reason but because they see no bounds to our Luxury. Their Proverb being too true, *Make things Dear and the English will fetch them*.

Then I would ask whether the Rates of *Portugal Wine* might not be brought much lower, and whether, since it is a *New Trade* and Boon to them from us, we might not make our own Terms with them rather than they would lose it? And whether we have not good Reason to begin with them betimes, since the loss is so great

great to the Nation, in paying great part Money for the Wines, and Freight also; they being the Carriers of it?

I think none will controvert that of the *Fishing Trade*, and that such encouragement should be given as might beat out all *Foreigners*.

And for that of *Flanders Lace*, Gold and Silver Lace, a Tax upon it would soon put an end to that Vanity:

And if there were no more Regulated but these things here mentioned, I am humbly of Opinion it would add greatly to the Trade and Navigation of the Kingdom.

There is yet one thing more that is covered with the Rags of the Poor, but until I see a disposition in the Nation to remove them, I think it vain to say more.

ESSAY

ESSAY V.

That the full Employment of all Hands in the Nation, is the surest Way and Means to bring Bullion into the Kingdom.

BEFORE I come to enter upon this Subject, I must enquire into the first cause of our miscarriage in this of the labouring Hands of the Nation, and I take it to arise not so much from the want of good Laws, as the not putting in force those we have. Nor can I blame those whom our Statutes seem to put the Executive part of those Laws upon, which are the *Mayors* and *Magistrates* of Corporations; and *Justices* of Peace in Counties; I can by experience say something of both.

That part which a *Chief Magistrate* in a Corporation is to act in this matter of Regulating Labour and Employment of the Poor, is very impracticable. A Mayor, or other Chief Magistrates business in a Corporation is so intermixt with Pageantry, Feasting, Judicature, and something of his own Trade and Employment, that it is difficult for him to know over Night what part he is to act next Morning, whether a Judge
on

46 *ESSAYS on TRADE.*

on a Bench, a Guest, a Master of a Feast, a Consul in a Triumphal Shew, or dealing in his private Occupation with a Man in his Shop, or Counting-House, who perhaps next Day he must punish for a *Misdemeanour*; nor can a Man were he never so well qualified for Government in his Corporation, be able in one Year to put things in a posture or method for regulating a Number of People, who by continuance of time are rooted in ill Habits.

There is also another impediment that to me seems invincible, A Magistrate for a Year, knowing he must the *next* return to the Community, is loath to disoblige any of his Neighbours, so that his work is to go smoothly on his Year, and think it his greatest Honour to have it said that in his Year no Body was disturbed: For these and many more Reasons that may be given, I do not think the Regulation I shall here propose, is in the Power of the Magistrate of a Corporation, who I believe was at first designed more to please and Honour a *Society*, than to put the meanest part of it on the *Magistrate*, as the Custom of most places have now made it. If I were to oblige a Corporation, it should be to load their Choice with Honour for his Year, and ease him of the ruffer part of Government, for that there should be one or more chose for Life, something like the *Chamberlain of London*; or rather a middle constitution betwixt that, and Sir *Josiah Child's* Fathers of the Poor.

Having given my Reasons why I think the chief *Magistrate* of a Corporation cannot Conquer the difficulties that attend the reforming,
or

or rather increasing labour : I come to show that there is the same difficulty, though from other causes in this Work, by *Justices of the Peace* in the Counties.

It is a familiar and common Proverb, that *what is every bodies, is no bodies business* ; and so it truly is in this case.

The Justices may perhaps at their Quarter Sessions make Speeches, and have Rules and Orders made for Reforming some Abuses, but when they are to be put in practice, or punish'd for the neglect of them, then Gentlemen are not fond of the severe and troublesome part ; very willing they may be to have the thing done ; but their Neighbour, in that at least, *they love as themselves*, and will be content he shall have all the Blessing of considering the Poor, and if the Justice shift it off from him, so will the Constable as readily follow his Worships Example, and let the work drop out of his hands.

It must be a better Age then this we live in, that Publick Works find Managers Gratis.

I have been told by some, that my method in my former thoughts on Trade, in giving no more then short hints of practical things, hath been blamed by Men of better Understanding then my self ; but such I hope will excuse me, since it was in defference to their better Judgments, that I did not presume to prescribe Rules, but rather put them in mind of what I did conceive was wanting in the Trade and Commerce of a Kingdom, that seems to be falling into the greatest of Judgments, that of being forsaken of its Inhabitants the neglect of employ-
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ing them is the readiest way to bring upon a People.

To this of imploying the Poor, there are many parts to be considered, and since I find it would be acceptable to be particular, I should be more so, but have always thought it a presumption for any single Man, much more for me to lay down the Models of Trade and Commerce; The Foundation of which I take to be the *Imployment of the Poor*, and that I think is a Work that requires the Conjunction of the best heads to Frame and Modelize.

I cannot omit saying, when ever it comes in my way, that though *England* is preferable to any part of the World for Trade and Navigation, yet it wants Regulation in both; and this brings to my Remembrance, a Discourse I had once with the late *Duke of Ormond* on the Trade of *Ireland*, for which his Grace had good Intentions: This Discourse happened when we had War with *France*; my humble Opinion was contrary to most Mens, in this, that I thought there was no way to improve the Trade of these Kingdoms so much as by *Naval War*, and did instance *Bristol*, which had its first considerable rise in Trade, by its *Privateers* in the War with *Spain*; and that I did believe, if *Ireland* did set out an hundred *Privateers* against the *Dutch* and *French* who then were in *League*; at the end of the War they would have thrice the Number of *Merchant Men*, when as then there was not Five Ships of burthen and force belonging to that Kingdom. His Grace agreeable to his easie admittance, put an end to the discourse with

with a Jest, *you would make a good Privy Council-lour to a Merchant King* ; I beg pardon for this Digression, and return to what brought me into it, that is, to offer what I conceive might be useful to forward this Proposition, of employing and providing for all sorts of Poor of this Kingdom, and that which perhaps I may not be commended for, to increase their number ; for that nothing can enlarge our Manufactures, Fishing and Navigation, but such who are distinguished from the *Rich* by being *Mechanicks* ; so are they from *Vagrant Poor* by being *Industrious* ; and these ought to be the *Favourites* of the Nation, not the Contempt of *Idle Men*.

That so great, I had almost said, the greatest concern of the Nation, the dispose of the Poor should be left to the Conduct of a *Vestry* in the *Legislative*, and the *Beadle* of a Parish in the *Executive part*, is unaccountable. Those hands that are held out for Alms, of Brass in the streets, might be made the best Instruments to bring Gold into our Houses, if there be, as we are told, Six Hundred Thousand Poor that tho' now Idle, might be employed in the Kingdom : Two Pence a Day for each would Amount to more then a Million *sterling* a Year ; and yet allow a great part of their time for Ease and Casualty.

This would be a great Addition to the Treasure of the Nation, and why this should not be in *Fact*, I can find no Reason, but because we do not try. To me it seems possible, and were it under Consideration, I should with submission to

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50 *ESSAYS on TRADE.*

better Judgments, show how ; and methinks 'tis an Experiment worth the Tryal, since it will put the Nation to no charge.

And that I may keep to my Rule of putting nothing abroad, but what I believe Reasons may be given for ; I shall here lay down what leads me into the Opinion, that there is little if any care taken in these Kingdoms for a due Provision for the Poor, or the Increase and Provision for the Bodys of Men ; and in doing this, I shall compare ours with the practice of other Nations.

I begin with that which began with the World, Marriage, which was accompanied with the first Command to *Adam*, Increase and Multiply, and to our great Reproach, not so well observed by us, as it was in the earlier Age of the World.

We know who changed the Religion of their Country, for obtaining a Wife for his Son ; and the great Argument used, they shall be our People, and will live with us : our Manage is not so, when we by Oblite Customs prohibit Marriage in the greatest part of the Nation. The Poor, how are such hunted out of a Parish if they Marry, and cannot give Security, that the Parish shall not be burthened with their Children.

To me it seems the most unaccountable Manage in this Kingdom, and I believe not in use in any other part of the World.

The *Romans* who Conquered the World, had other Sentiments then we have, believing that they could have no greater Treasure then the Bodies

Bodies of Men, as may be seen by the Law *Julia* and *Papia*, giving many Immunities and Priviledges, to such as had many Children; and obliged all Men to take Wives, none excepted.

Furius Camillus, when Cenfor of *Rome* was Honoured by the People for the Law he made concerning Marriage, by which he was said to keep the Common-wealth in its strength and greatness, which otherwise would have decayed. The Wisdom of the *Romans* was as much seen by Increasing their Numbers at home, as by lessening their Enemies abroad.

I think *Plato* was in the Right, when he said that the great Work of the state was, how to Increase their Numbers, the little one how to govern them.

Nothing makes Kingdoms and Commonwealths, Mighty, Opulent and Rich, but multitudes of People : 'tis Crowds brings in Industry, we need go no further then *Holland* for demonstration; and then *Ireland* to show a plentiful Country thinly planted, Incourages and Supports Idleness.

To make such Laws and Provisions for Employments of the Poor, as might decently maintain them, would be agreeable to the Law of God, as I have instanc'd in another place. Thou shalt provide for the Poor, and it followed there was no Begger in *Israel*.

I do not think those to whom that command was given, understood by it, that the Poor should not Marry: then there would be no Beggars if there was no Increase.

We out-do the *Egyptian* Cruelty, for they Drowned the Male Children of the *Israe'lites*, because they feared them as Enemies; but we hinder the Increase of our own People, as if we feared having too many, and by that means want Mouths to eat up our own product, and so become Plow-men for *Holland*, and Dary Men for *Spain*, whilst they would admit us; however it may please us, it is better to Export our Provisions, then loose them; yet with submission I think, it shows an Improvident People, that have so many thousand Poor, who might by their Labours Earn, and so eat our Provisions, and instead of sending them out, Export Manufactures, and that would bring in double to the Nation, what our Provision doth.

Nature never made any People Rich, 'tis Labour and Art that doth it, and they are the Wisest who chose the most profitable Employments. Now no Man will say that of the Plow is such, yet to be encouraged for our own supply, but I cannot think it reasonable to be enlarged for others: we might imploy our strong *English* Bodies upon the Sea, they would fetch in more to the Nation by Plowing that Element, then by that of the Land; and this we might do if care was taken to Imploy and Increase those that we now think, and indeed are, a Burthen as we use them.

ESSAY

ESSAY VI.

*That the Woollen Manufactory of England
would be greatly enlarg'd by Cheapness of
Provisions.*

THE Commodities from the *East-Indies* evince this Truth by their *Cheapness*, for which there can no Reason be given but the cheap living of the *Indians*; the value of one Penny a Day feeds one of them, and three Pence will not one of our People.

Now though it is not possible, either to bring our People to so sparing a *Diet*, nor yet our Provisions to so low a Rate; yet something may be done in the latter, to out-do any in *Europe*, except *Ireland*; and that may be made use of to help us in this matter: That Kingdom is, or should be, a *Member* of our Body, but we use it rather like an *Excreffence* than a Natural Limb. But to return to the Provision for the Poor in the Woollen Manufactories; one great part of it is *Spinning*, and by that Employment a Woman cannot Earn above 2 d. a Day, which will not buy her *Bread* and *small Beer*, so that

having nothing for Lodging and Cloaths, what miserable conditions must such poor Creatures be in ! who though willing, cannot live by their Labour : Of these are our Streets fill'd in the Begging Trade, that being the more profitable Employment, wherein 'tis hard if they do not get thrice as much as they do by work, yet the Manufactories are cramp'd abroad, by being under-sold both by the *French* and *Dutch*. Now though we cannot abate the Rates of *Spinning*, yet we may encourage it to enlarge the quantities ; and for all other *parts* of the *Cloathing Trade*, the Rates might be lowered if Provisions were Cheaper : and it would amount to a vast Sum if but a *Penny a Day* were taken off every Mans Work, which might easily be done if *Provisions* were lowered in proportion, and kept as they are now ; but the misfortune of our Conduct among other things in Trade, is, that we make no *Provision for a time of Scarcity*. *Beef* may be as now perhaps at 2 *d.* a Pound, and then our Manufactures are Cheap ; another Year *Beef* may be at 4 *d.* a Pound, and then our Manufactures are Dear, and we by that means loose our Markets abroad : for that the *Dutch* who trust not to their own product, keep always Stores by them, so that 'tis hard to distinguish betwixt a plentiful and a scarce Harvest. They, as at this time, fetch our Corn, and we give them (for so it is in Effect) Money to take it, by the allowance given for Exports, of Corn ; and perhaps the *next Year* we fetch back that Corn at double the Rate we Sold it for : if this be not an Error in Trade, I confess I know none, and that

that our mistakes in Trade are not more than they are, seems rather the effect of *Chance* than *Fore-sight*, whilst our *Legislative*, who make all our Laws, are excluded from those of Trade and Manufactures.

To me there seems the same Reason for the *Commons* to have the Conduct of Trade, as they have of *Money-Bills*: They may choose Men both from themselves and others, qualified for all the parts of *Commerce*; which perhaps are Subjects too low for the consideration of *Great Men*. I have sometimes discoursed with such who by their transcendent parts handled the *Theory* of Commerce with flights as much above my Understanding, as my Notions in the *Practick* was below theirs: which confirmed me in the Opinion, *That none are so proper to advise in Trade, as they that are bred in it*, and I believe if such, in the several parts of that Mystery were consulted, we should find a better way to dispose of our Corn, &c. than now we do; and the Poor would not so often fall into the Borders of Famine.

'Tis a narrow understanding, and too much amongst us to think that Corn would be too cheap, if we did not give Money to carry it away, would it not be more for the advantage of the Nation, if *Store-Houses* were made in the Country for Corn, than to carry it abroad and pay such dear Rates for it as we often do; and if that which is given for the *Exportation* of Corn, was given for the *laying it up* in Granaries at *Home*, there would be a double advantage to the Nation: *One*, and that which I think ought

to have the first consideration, the Poor would always be provided for ; and the *Other* would be, that we should often have the advantage of a Foreign Market. We are always on the loosing side, Sell when 'tis cheap, and Buy when 'tis Dear ; an expedient that we have no Reason to brag of : but such management will be, *where Offices are Chose for Men, and not Men qualified for Offices* ; which if in any Employment, I think ought to be in Trade, because that affects every Man in the Kingdom, either in Body, or Estate. An error in the Foundation of Trade, is like a defect in the first Concoction, it runs through the whole Body, and is not easily Cur'd, we find it so in the Trade and Navigation of the Kingdom, and a Regulation at Home in our Manufactures, is as necessary as Trade in our Ships Abroad : and when the Employment of the Poor is fully considered, perhaps the Method for providing Provision for them will be found of good use, so that our Manufactories may, at least, be as cheap Abroad as those of our Neighbours, which we cannot reasonably expect whilst we have our Bread of them that are our Competitors.

I think it possible in this Kingdom to keep Provision at a constant moderate Rate, so that nothing but a general Famine should raise it to the Poor ; and done in such a manner as that the Farmer should not complain.

ESSAY VII.

*Who will encrease their Navigation, Strength
and Treasure by our Naval War, and who
will decline by it in both.*

WE have the Authority of the infallible Author, that *he who builds a Tower, first sits down and considers what it will cost him* : I doubt not but it is fully considered in the Councils of the Nation as to the charge of this War, which all true *English* Hearts will joyn in ; and then with due management, there cannot be want of Mony to carry it on : yet all this being granted, there remains in my humble Opinion, room for this Enquiry, Who will encrease their Trade and Navigation by it ? To which I answer in general, that all *Neutral* Princes and States must Naturally encrease their Trade and Navigation, having the freedom of the *Sea*, when the Rivals of the Ocean are chasing one another out of it.

Upon this Neutrality there seems Reason for mature consideration, and they who believe that the very Being of the *English* Nation, under
God,

58 *ESSAYS on TRADE.*

God, depends upon our Trade and Navigation, will be of opinion, that if we lose our Sea Employments, we shall be like *Silk-Wormes*, Spin out our own Bowels, and so become of no use.

Now that which hath ever been the inseparable consequence of a Neutrality among Governments that have relation to the Sea, is, that those Princes or States that sat *Neuter*, did not only enrich themselves by their Present Trade, but always pickt up and introduc'd some new thing in Commerce and Navigation that they never had before, which they use in time of Peace to the prejudice of their Neighbours.

This looks like over-sight in Government, to admit Neutral Commerce, in part it might be so when Trade was like an Out-lier, game for every one that met it.

But there was another consideration that oblig'd Princes to allow of *Neutrality* rather than to joyn with their Enemies. But though this may be good Reason with a single Monarch or State, it may have another consideration in a great Confederacy, especially if the Princes in Confederacy can be supplied with Naval Stores without them: which can be made out, and will, when the Parliament takes the Trade of the Nation under consideration, and then Things may appear on this Subject of *Neutrality*, which might give offence to be said here.

But to come to that of our Enemies, the *French* I conceive will, if better management be not us'd than formerly, be the *Gainers* by our *Naval War*, and *We* the *Losers*.

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That by their Privateers they mightily Increase their Seamen is visible, and that we have much more Trade then they, also cannot be denied, which makes Provision for them; I wont say, that this cannot be prevented, but will, that it was not in the former War.

The *Dutch* indeed were wiser, and though they have more Ships then we, lost not half so many; thus by *Sea* we find they have the advantage.

We will then consider how they stand as to their Manufactures; they prohibited all ours in time of Peace, and began a great Exportation to *Spain*, *Italy*, &c.

We are now by War, barr'd of all that Trade, and the *French* left open to it; they will have the *Spanish Wooll*, and with that they will make the finest Cloth for the *Italian* and *Spanish* Trade, that ever was; and it is to be feared, that the *French* may Introduce other Manufacturies to supply that of *Bayse*, and then we shall lose for ever, one of the most profitable Manufactures of *England*.

I mention not these things as unavoidable consequences of War, but name them as that which should be prevented, as I believe it may; and that it is possible for us by timely consideration, not only to defeat the *French* in their growing Navigation and Trade, but even by the War, to enlarge our own.

I also believe, there may be methods taken to preserve our Trade and Navigation, that those that sit *Neutral* may not advance theirs, by getting ours; which perhaps may be thought worth

worth consideration : and if we Employ our hands at home in *Labour*, as well as our Men abroad in *Armies*, our Enemies may think it as vain to War with *England*, as the Lord did to go to Law with the *Brewer* that gave his Men order to pump so many Tuns of Water more then usual, because he was that day to Fee his *Lawyers* ; which the *Nobleman* hearing, said he would agree with his Antagonist, for that there was no going to Law with the *Thames*. Nor will there be to make War with *England*, if we keep our Trade and Commerce.

We see Money is the Artillery and Ammunition that levels all before it, and no Nation in *Europe* has those Funds to raise it as the *English* have.

Now what ever *disaffected* Men, or *disappointed* of Offices may say, *England* is not without Men of *Judgment* and *Honesty*, to promote the solid good of *the Nation*.

If there has been neglects, and so miscarriages of late Years, it may awaken the Nation to better Methods : but let us never blame either the *late* or *present* Government, whilst we have *Parliaments* which are denied nothing.

If this Nation miscarry, we shall not have the common pretence, *Arbitrary Government*, but shall have the Honour, if we can think it so, to be ruined by our own *choice*, but we have reason to hope better things.

It was in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and in time of War too, that the greatest Trade and Navigation of *England* had their beginning. We have as great a Queen upon the Throne
now,

now ; and if it be not our own-faults, we may gain part of what we have lost ; that of *Russia*, *Greenland*, and the *Newfound-land* fishing, and that of the *Baltick*.

I mention not those we yet keep, but those we have in a manner lost, to the shame and reproach of our Nation, to let them fall into the hands of our Neighbours, by our Luxury and Idleness.

There was not the labour in a *Levant* and *Southern Trade*, as in those *Northern* and fishing Voyages ; our Merchants were *Rich*, and those Trades would not Imploy their Capitals ; our Seamen could not be blamed in their choise of *Sun-shine*, *Wine*, and *Fruits*, rather then *Storms*, and *cold Water* for drink, and *Fish* for food.

This is matter of Fact, and seems to support the opinion that Trade should be bounded. Trade indeed will find its own Channels, but it may be to the ruin of the Nation, if not Regulated.

If our *Parliaments* for Seventy Years past, had foreseen that we should loose the Imployment of Thirty or Forty Thousand Seamen, and add double the Number to our Neighbours, by our abating the *Northern* and *Fishing* Trade ; they would I presume, have made such Laws, as would have tack'd the *Laborious* to the *Luxurious* Trades.

The *Venetians* observing our Excess in that of *Currans*, made a Law, that the first Ship that brought in her Lading of *Fish*, should have the priviledge of loading the first *Currans*.

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If something like that had been done, *We* should not now want *Seamen* nor our *Enemies* have so many.

The *Fishery* of *Newfoundland* and *Greenland* are the *French Nurseries* for *Seamen*, which we may as justly take from them, as any of our *Foreign Plantations*, and until we do, I cannot think *England* safe.

I submit to better Judgments, and wish they would consider how these Kingdoms can be secure, if there be not ways found out to Employ in time of Peace, double the number of *Seamen* we have now; our defect in this, brings us under the necessities we are now in for want of *Seamen*.

The *Fleet* and *Merchant-Men*, cannot be all supplied at once, and yet both so necessary, that 'tis hard to determine which should have the first care.

It is our *Marine Commerce* that maintains and builds *Navies*, but if we are only able to Man our *Fleet*, a little time will consume them without *Fighting*.

That which quiets those who should know better, or consider it when told them, is that you ought not to raise more *Seamen*: for though in time of *Naval War* you want *Men* for the *Fleet*, yet in time of Peace you have not *Employment* for those you have.

It is an easie answer, but with deference to them that use it, a very indifferent one, and if allow'd for good, is only so far as to give the Nation Notice to provide for themselves, either to change their Country, or their Masters, for
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we live not in an Age of Miracles, means must be used, and our Strength must be on the Sea.

We are not always secure of Confederates, we should be able to stand alone, and we may so, if we Plow the Sea more and the Land less. This is not a Notion without Foundation, there is plain Demonstration, how there may be double the Number of Seamen that we have now in the *English* Navigation. I mean in the time of Peace; for to our grief, we see Employment for more than we have in time of War.

But to return to the Question, Who may encrease their Navigation, &c. by a Naval War, and who are losers by it?

I conceive then, such as our former management, will make the *French* Gainers; but if we see and reform *errors* and *mistakes* in Trade and Navigation, encourage Seamen, and not hunt them out of the Kingdom, *We* shall be the Gainers.

There are some things may be done in time of War for retrieving part of our lost Fishing and Navigation, that cannot be done in time of Peace: but till the great Council of the Nation are affected with these things, there is little to be expected, I should think there is more to be hoped from 500 Men of Estates from all parts of the Kingdom, than from Men whose Studies and Employments have been in a higher Sphere: And why a *Council of Trade* was taken out of the Hands of the Parliament, when they were upon it; they can best tell that advised it.

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The Eyes of the Nation, and all *Europe* with them, are upon the Ensuing *Parliament*, they have the greatest work before them that ever attended an *English* Parliament.

How happy would this Nation be if the Representatives could with more Truth than *Saul* told *Samuel* say, *They had performed your Command, &c.*

There would not then be that Question, what means the noise of *Offices*? &c. No Man would Envy the advance of a true *Patriot*, as he would be that Employed his Talent for the advance of Manufactures, Fishing and Navigation: But how the Nation will be serv'd if the *Ambitious* or *Neceffitous* Men should make *Parties*, to Embarrass publick *Business* till their own is serv'd, time will show?

It was the saying of a brave *Roman*, *That Men that lose their Conscience cannot preserve their Courage.* That is shown by speaking Truth in the Senate House for their Country. [Let not the *Wasp* live on the labour of the *Bee*.]

Such will tell us there are bounds to War, Frontier Towns, &c. but there is no bounds to Trade, nor would there be to that of this Kingdom, if we were not tempted by Trade above-bridge, more profitable than an *East-India* Voyage.

Lord *Cooke* in his Commentaries on our grand Charters, tells us, Traffick is the Merchants Lively-hood, and that their Lively-hood is the Life of the Common-wealth.

This Opinion of so great a Man in the Laws and Politicks, condemns either himself or us;
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his to be vain Speculation, or our neglect of Trade and Navigation to be Notorious and Faulty.

I have sometimes wondred that what he and other great Men said on the Manufactures and Navigation of the Nation is not quoted as pre-fidents for us, as well as what they write on the Laws; if it were, we should not have such Armies of Poor as overspread the Land. We are told by the Author of *Ways and Means*, that we have 1200000; if half he tells us can Work, were imployed, we need not fear the Power of *France*, either in *Trade* or *War*; and this may be done by better methods than by taking away the Imployment of one Town, and making them Beggars, to Imploy new ones in another place. Such Projectors, like *Merry Andrews*, on the Stage, may divert the Mob, but make no Cures.

Every hand can strike the strings of an Instrument, and the most unskillful make the greatest sound; but *Masters* in Musick, we are told will Tune *Lutes* so that the touch of one shall be answered by the other: It must be so in the Imployment of the Poor; the Imployment of the Poor of one part of the Kingdom, must not abate the Imployment of them in another.

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ESSAY

ESSAY VIII.

The Advantage of a Union between England and Ireland.

THE Nature, Scituation and Soil of *Ireland* is such, that perhaps no spot of Ground can compare with it, and wants nothing but right management to make it as prosperous in acquired Riches, as it is in Native Product.

Before I come to speak of its Commerce, tho' it may look like an Excursion out of my Province of Trade, yet I presume it necessary and introductive, to say something of the Government, and Relation that Kingdom has to *England*.

I shall not trouble the Reader with the Historical part of its Conquest, Laws and Constitution, but as near as I can, keep to that which relates to Trade and the Security of *England*; in the way of which, something will fall into that of Government.

I begin with their Scituation and Harbours.

Ireland lies West of *England*, and consequently betwixt them and the most considerable Parts of the World they Trade to: The Harbours of *Ireland* are many and safe, a relief
and

and security to the Shipping of *England* in Peace and War, and of that consequence in the latter, that were they in Enemies hands, it were next to an Impossibility to secure the Trade and Navigation of *England* in time of Naval War.

There is a late Instance of the benefit this Nation had in the securing the *Smirna* Fleet by putting into *Kingsale*; had that Port been in Enemies hands, as it was the Year before, 'tis believed that Fleet by keeping the Sea, had fallen into the *French* hands.

The Government of *Ireland* is dependant upon *England*, and continues in the same form it was in *Henry* the Seventh's Reign, and has always been more Despotick than that of *England*. Their Parliament restrain'd by *Poyneings* Laws, which when made, was of good use to subject the *Irish*, who at that time were the greatest part both of Lords and Commons, but whither that Law is now of use to *England*, some make a doubt.

For the better understanding this matter, I shall in few words set down the Nature of that Law, and it is this.

That no Act of Parliament shall pass in *Ireland*, but such as first passes the Privy Council of *Ireland*, and be transmitted under the Broad Seal of that Kingdom into *England*, and be there again considered by the King and Council, who either alter, lay aside, or pass the Bill as they see fit, and then transmit it back to *Ireland*, under the Broad Seal of *England*. The Parliament of *Ireland* not having liberty to add or alter one word of the Bill: This renders the

Parliament of *Ireland* as some think, no more then a *French* Parliament ; but however, this Law has a general Acceptance in *England*, believing it subjects *Ireland* intirely to the Conduct of *England* ; but whether it does or no, is submitted under the consideration of these particulars.

First, Laws made in *Ireland*, come under no inspection of the Parliament of *England* ; so that it can't be said that the Legislative of *England*, hath any hand in the Laws of *Ireland*, though they may affect *England* : And the Commons of *England* think not themselves safe under any Law made without their consent in Parliament, than *Poyneings* Law for transmitting Bills into *England*, seems not in favour of the Subjects of *England*, but Establishes the Legislative in the King and Council ; there is more to be considered under this head, then is proper here to mention.

2dly, *Poyneings* Law Establishes a Despotick Government in *Ireland*, subjects the *English* to that which was first intended only for *Irish*, and whether 'tis not natural for Men if it comes in their way, to bring others under their own circumstances, is submitted.

3dly, 'Tis possible to turn *Poyneings* Law to the prejudice of *England* in its Security as well as Trade, we need go no further then the Late Reign of King *James*, what was then done in *Ireland* ; and had he sat the Throne one Year longer, such Acts of Parliament had been past there, as would have brought *England* under

under the power of *Ireland* in their Trade and Navigation.

This being the present Constitution of *Ireland*, these Queries following are submitted.

1. Whether *England* had so many Rivals in Trade and Navigation, when this Law was made, as it has now?

2. Whether their Neighbours the *French* had so great an Interest in the *Irish*? were so well acquainted with their Harbours, Strength and Trade, as now they are?

The *English* Nation now seems to be apprehensive of the Trade and Woollen Manufacture of *Ireland*; yet with submission, greater things then that which is fear'd are past over.

Some things appear in my weak judgment, that might, if under consideration, settle the Kingdom of *Ireland*, so as to secure that Kingdom and Trade in the Interest of *England*, which is of the greatest importance to the *English* Nation; and being so, I shall not presume to prescribe how it may be done, but only offer some things that may perhaps lead to that which the great Council of the Nation may think worthy of their consideration.

First, I suppose a Fundamental Truth allow'd by all, that since *Ireland* is above Water, *England* cannot be safe if that Kingdom should be in any hands but their own.

I shall now submit those things that seem Essential, to keep that Kingdom in *English* hands; for I make a great difference betwixt *Ireland*,

being under *English* Government, and *English* Inhabitants: It may be under the first, and yet not safe if not under the latter.

Men of least Understandings are often fill'd with greatest fears, and that may plead my excuse, if I am under the last apprehension of *England's* danger by *Ireland's* being insensibly planted with People not of *English* Extraction: I mean, as have Relation and Affinity to any Nation and People, but those of *England*.

I cannot see how *England* could withstand all the Neighbours that surround them, if *Ireland* had a ballance of other People than *English*: and therefore I should think that tho' we would not make that Kingdom a Treasure, yet we make it a Cittadel for defence against Forreigners, and then I presume we should not make it a Garrison for Strangers.

I come then to offer what I conceive will lay the Foundation for securing that Kingdom to *England*, and that is,

By Act of Parliament, to Unite *Ireland* to *England*.

I presume this will meet with Objections, but I have never heard more then two: First, 'Tis Objected that this may endanger *England* in its Constitution: the Members of *Ireland* may be a dead weight, and may be through poverty or otherwise made use of if we should fall under an unfortunate Reign.

To this is answered, that the same may be said of *Wales* or even of separate Counties, but 'tis hardly possible, that any Part of the *English* Constitution, should joyn in that which should endanger the whole. *Ireland*

ESSAYS on TRADE. 71

Ireland would be then *England*, and no doubt as fond of their liberties; perhaps, more apprehensive of them than *England*; *Ireland* having known the want of them.

It would be a Reflection, which I always avoid, to mention particulars, but no doubt, *English* Laws and the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, would be thought a Blessing in that Kingdom, and beside what their own Interest would lead them into: their Numbers would not be dangerous, if but Two and Thirty Members for the Two and Thirty Counties.

The other Objection is, that, if *Ireland* was United, they would have equal liberty of Trade with *England*.

To which is answered, that doth not follow, they may be better restrained by the Union, then they can be under the Constitution they are now. For though *England* may now make Laws for them, yet they in *Ireland* are Judges and Executioners of them, and how far they will enforce Laws against the Interest of their Country, is submitted; but when made by their own Representatives here in *Parliament*, and liable to be questioned here, if not observed, the case will then be altered.

And there wants not Presidents of the *Parliament* of *England*'s restraining some Ports of *England* from Trade and Navigation that they allow to others; as that of Importation of *Irish* Wooll, which is only admitted to particular Ports of *England*; so in some cases, it is in the United Provinces, and yet they Unite in the States General; and though we follow not that

Common-wealth in Government, yet I wish we did it in Trade.

I now come to the Advantages *England* would have by Uniting *Ireland*: I shall for many, only mention four, and they are these.

First, By this Uniting *Ireland* to *England*, that Kingdom will bear part of the Taxes, which it never did; though in time of Naval War, the Ships of *England* always guarded their Coasts, and conveyed their Merchant Men.

Secondly, This Uniting *Ireland* would prevent future Rebellions, which that Kingdom was never long free from; and always cost *England* much Blood and Treasure to Reduce.

Keeping *Ireland* a separate Kingdom, hath supported the *Irish* in the pretence of their right to it, and when ever they have opportunity, call their *Parliaments* and make Laws; but if that were Abolish'd, and the Kingdom United as *Wales* is, we should become one People, which we never can be, tho we are one blood, whilst we live under different Laws and Government. Suppose, as I think they are, by their Constitution, I am sure they are in the practice, under Despotick power, which some of us believe our advantage over them; yet I think it dangerous to *England*, and may bring us under the same misfortunes; for Men that are without hope of *English* Liberty, will naturally joyn in that which will bring others under the same subjection.

The Conduct in the late Reign of King *James*, evinceth this truth, when the Native *Irish* were settled in Arms, and some brought over
here

here to Inslave the *English*; what hath been done may be done, a good Reign seems the only time to provide against a bad.

Thirdly, Uniting the Kingdoms, would make the *English* Nation more formidable; none I presume would deny that the *English* Nation and Kingdom would be more feared abroad, and safer at home, if it were twice as great, and that *Ireland* was one Continent with it.

Now in my humble Opinion, 'tis possible to make it so in effect, and of better use then if it were so in Reality.

The Security and Treasure of the *English* Nation under God, depends on their Navigation, under which is comprehended Fisheries, Manufacturies, &c.

Continents therefore never can be much in Traffick, Long-land Carriage makes their Manufactures and Product too dear for Exportation; so then if *Ireland* were one Continent with us, we should want the benefit of cheap Carriage, and loose the advantage of Sea Employments for our Men; in which we cannot exceed.

But as *Ireland* now stands, it is possible to make it a Nursery and Employment for Ten Thousand *English* Seamen more then now we have; and of what consequence that will be, they will Judge that see Numbers of our Seamen Run abroad in time of Peace to get their Bread; and it is a Melancholy Observation that we want Seamen in time of Naval War, yet we have not employment in time of Peace for them we have. But *Ireland* being
United

United and Establiſhed as it might be, would imploy them all, and make more.

Fourthly, Uniting *Ireland* to *England*, ſeems the moſt Effectual way to prevent the *English* Manufactures from going to Foreign parts; a loſs which is overlook'd, though 'tis far greater in their numbers, and more in value than thoſe few and Poor People that miſfortune drives to *Ireland*, and makes a noiſe as if the Nation was endangered thereby.

This puts me in mind of the Fly in the Fable on the Chariot Wheel, which cried out, *What a duſt do I make*: the Moral is underſtood, if we compare the Beggars that go to *Ireland*, with thoſe that with full Bags go to other Parts of the World; we have more reaſon to apprehend that loſs, than our poor Brethren going into our own Country; if *Ireland* be not kept ſo, it may be feared, we ſhall not be long ſafe here.

But to return to that which, I humbly conceive, will alter the courſe of ſuch as are invited into Forreign Parts, is, to bring *Ireland* under the ſame Conſtitution and Government with *England*.

Men will only then, as now they do, change from one Country to another to mend their Fortunes. But ſuch as have any thing that makes a Property, are not willing to go where there is none; but by going into *Ireland*, loſe the Birth-right of an *Englishman*.

It was thought a Politick Inſtitution of the *Romans*, to give Liberty even to the Remoteſt Conqueſt, to purchaſe the Liberty of a *Roman*;
we

we know who pleaded it when he was in danger to be punished contrary to Law.

It shows a narrow understanding, to believe the Nation cannot be supported in their Trade and Manufactures, but by cutting off a Limb from the Body ; do we not so, if he that lives in *Ireland* is treated as a Foreigner ? I should rather think it the Interest of *England*, to give Extraordinary Priviledges to *English* Men that would go and Plant there, and to turn the Tables ; take from *Ireland* the Naturalization Act, and bring it here ; Exchange *English* Men for *Foreign* Protestants, their number here cannot over ballance, in *Ireland* they may.

It is easily understood what Twenty Thousand Men inur'd to Arms, for so every Protestant in *Ireland* is, may do, though they are not in a standing Army. This Consideration, were there no more, in my humble Opinion, should prevail to the Planting *Ireland* with *English* Men ; and that seems not probable, while they that are there, are precarious in their lives and fortunes : for neither are safe whilst they are out-numbered by the Natives, intermixt with others, and not favoured by their Brethren in *England*.

I should now come to shew how the Trade of *Ireland* might be made profitable, and yet subservient to that of *England* ; but for Reasons I reserve that for another occasion, and shall now end this Discourse with this Explanation, that by all I say here, I do not mean, nor would insinuate, that all the Priviledges and Immunities

England

England hath in Trade and Manufactures, should be allow'd to *Ireland*: but only encouraged in such a way as will advance *England* in theirs, and prevent the Impendent danger that hangs over the *English*, whilst *Ireland* stands at loose to *England*, or unsettled in its self.

It seems the misfortunes of both Kingdoms, that whilst new Methods and Arts are us'd by all our Neighbours, to secure and improve their Trade. We content our selves with old Methods, and are only new in considering how to drive *Ireland* into Foreign Hands; whereas in former Ages, though little was understood of Trade and Navigation, yet it was always the care of *England*, to make *Ireland* as much *English* as they could; if we make it so, *England* will reap the benefit of their Labours; but if we do not, *England* may fear disturbance from the *Irish*, especially whilst they have such Alliance with the *French*.

It might be remembred, that twice or thrice in Forty Years, there hath been Revolutions, in which *Ireland* might have been fatal to *England*, had they taken the wrong side.

First upon the Restauration of *Charles* the II. had not *Monk* in *Scotland* corresponded with, and secur'd the *English* of *Ireland*, he could not have come into *England*, for they of *Ireland* could have opposed him with a greater force.

The other danger *England* might have been in, was upon the Abdication of King *James*; had the *English* of *Ireland* joyn'd with him, it is possible his *Irish* Army had Marched into *Scotland*,

land, and the *English* into *England*, or have establish'd King *James's* Interest in *Ireland*.

Now though the Affection and Interest of the *English* of *Ireland* led them into these Revolutions with *England*, yet such a Turn or Force may happen that may engage them on the other side, or to quit that Kingdom, when they find themselves us'd hardly by their Brethren in *England*.

I could name Things and Management now in *Ireland*, that perhaps would Alarm the Nation as much as any thing that hath been before them the last Reign, which seems worthy of Consideration, because it may be remedied, and *Ireland* made more useful to *England* than all the Countries and Places they Trade to in the World; and as indifferently as it is now managed, more than half the Trade of *Ireland* is *English*, and that it is not All so, is not from them.

I have by me the particulars of Six Years Exports and Imports, since the War, the Ships, Men, &c. that are imployed in the Trade of *Ireland*; from whence I have made observations that I think give full Demonstration, that *Ireland* is not managed to the advantage of *England*, nor indeed to their own.

I forbear instances to avoid reflections where it may hurt, and only wish the Trade, Navigation and Imployments of *Ireland* were under a thorough consideration of the Parliament; and then I perswade my self all the Jealousies that are now entertained of *Ireland*, would be remov'd; and that unfortunate Kingdom made
easie

ease to its self, and less dangerous to *England*, for as it now stands it seems otherwise ; and the *English* there cramped in that which would make suitable returns to *England*, for their expence in so often recovering that Kingdom.

Had the State of *Ireland* been truly laid before the Parliament, it seems reasonable to believe, a matter of so great moment would have been sooner under consideration, and that Kingdom had been settled to the Advantage and Security of *England*.

The latter may be thought to affect the Nation more now than it did in former Ages. The Native *Irish* had never before a pretence of Loyalty to the Crown, nor a pretender to it under a powerful Monarch, who 'tis said hath a demand on the Kingdom from the late King *James*, and only waits an opportunity to take Possession ; and whoever will Read *Peccata Hibernia*, will see how ease it is for the *Irish*, if assisted with a small force from abroad, and well furnish'd with Arms to keep that Kingdom from a greater force than perhaps *England* can spare, whilst we have another War in Hand ; nor must we take measures from the Success of the last War. It is no secret how the *French* Minister served them, nor how they fail'd in not burning all before them, which the *Irish* are so just to attribute to King *James* ; for had they burnt and so left no Winter Quarters, it had not been possible to have kept an Army in *Ireland* in the Winter : and as impossible to have Conquered it in a Summer. Boggs and Wets are natural to the *Irish*, but Death to an *English* Constitution,

tion, if forc'd to live in Huts and Cabins, as the *Irish* do.

All the aforesaid Considerations may be sufficient Motives for a Parliament to bring *Ireland* under their Care, in other Methods than ever it hath been ; nor can a Peace render it secure to *England*, since there must be always a Standing Army in that Kingdom, which perhaps needs a greater than ever yet was. And if any Revolution should happen in *England*, which God forbid, the Army in *Ireland* hath its side to choose, if they should think themselves under no Obligation to *England*, but paid by *Ireland*, and not all *Englishmen* : it was found so by the Parliament of *Ireland*, since the last War.

There may be more said on this Subject, if this matter comes under consideration ; but we are the less apprehensive, because we are under a most happy Reign ; and yet that is the best time to make Provision against what may happen in another.

A Union, and nothing but that can remove all Fears, and blast the designs of our Enemies. The Force and Interest of *Ireland*, will be one with *England* ; and then it will be no longer a Trouble and Charge, but a Help and Advance-Guard to *England*.

I can hardly keep back my Pen, from what hath, and will ever hinder *Ireland's* making it self acceptable to *England*, but so (I presume) it will be, till a Parliament hath defect-ed the management of that Kingdom.

ESSAY IX.

Some Remarks on the Trade of Ireland as it stood in the Year 1675, to the Year 1681 Inclusive, and from the Year 1695, to the Year 1698.

IN the Observations I shall make on that part of the Trade of *Ireland*, which relates to *England*, I confine my self to the Accompts taken out of the *Custom-House* Books, of both Kingdoms, which I take to be good Authority for so much; though I will not say but there may be much more that comes not under the Cognisance of *Custom-House* Officers, of which I shall make Remarks in another place, if the management of *Ireland* ever comes under consideration.

The Importations from *Ireland* into *England* for the Year above mentioned, I find in the Account made here by a Gentleman imploy'd in that affair, amounts to 333968, 9, 5; and the Exports from *England* to *Ireland*, in the same Account, amounts to 293813, 13, 6; so then the ballance appears on the wrong side, and
Eng^a

England loses by the *Irish* Trade 40154, 15, 11, Sterling per Annum. But this way of making the ballance of Trade is erroneous, because some Importations enrich a Kingdom, as those Commodities which are Imported and Exported again: so doth those Importations that are Manufactur'd in the Kingdom: so the way to make a right Estimate in the ballance of Trade, is to have the particular species of all Commodities before you, by which may be seen what is profitable, and what is destructive to the Nation.

Ireland hath lain under so general an Opinion of being prejudicial to the Trade and Manufacturies of *England*, that it put me upon a Resolution of searching into the bottom of the Commerce, Navigation, Manufacturies and Fishing of that Kingdom: and that I might not fall into the common Fate of Writers on Trade, dress up Notions of my own, and then bring Arguments to knock them down, when neither of them is in the right;

I spent much time for Fourteen Years past, in adding to my own experience, the Observation and Practice of some others in the Trade of *Ireland*; and that which I think more vallued and helpful to me, was an Account I have by me, that I got out of the Custom-house Books in *Ireland* Twenty Years since, of all the Exports and Imports in that Kingdom for Six Years, ending 1681. To this Account, I have added another for Four Years since the Wars, and out of both, I make the Remarks following: and that I may not be thought to prevari-

cate from real Fact, I have troubled the Reader with this digression to shew the Foundation I build upon, and so I come first to the Exports from *England to Ireland*; in the first Six Years ending, 1681, which was the most flourishing Trade of *Ireland*, since the Rebellion, 1641. The Exports from *England to Ireland*, Amounted to 346800 *sterling per Annum*; and the Imports from *Ireland into England*, Amounted to 231554 *sterling per Annum*.

By which it appears, the Exports from *England to Ireland* was then, I mean, before the last War in *Ireland*, more than the Imports, 115286.

By this Account, according to the Vulgar way of the ballance of Trade, *England* was gainer by the Trade of *Ireland*, 115286, whereas it is now, by the first mentioned Account for the Year, 1698, a looser, 41154, 15, 11. But this will be set in a better light, when I come to particularise the respective Commodities of both Kingdoms, which I have by me drawn into several Columns, too large here to insert, containing with Observation on each Commodity, near a Hundred Sheets. That here set down, is only a Compendium of what I have at large by me with Remarks.

For the Commodities that are Exported from *England to Ireland*, they are for the greatest part, either the Manufacturies or Native Product of *England*, and are consequently clear gain to the Kingdom, which cannot

ESSAYS on TRADE. 483

cannot be said of any other Trade I know
of, that *England* hath in the World besides.

But to come to the Respective Commodities Imported and Exported to and from *Ireland*, to the Year 1698, and I begin with the Account ending 1681.

[illegible]

84 *ESSAYS on TRADE.*

Exports of Ireland for the Year 1681.

Denomination of GOODS.		Quanti. in Gen.	Valu in Gener.
Wool	Stones	223108	111554
Hides		95512	64000
Beef	Barrels	52871	40000
Tallow	Tons	1692	50760
Butter	Tons	5700	142000
Pork	Barrels	1498	1500
Mutton	Barrels	6654	7500
Skins and Furs			5000
Horses		5200	20000
Frizes	Yards	710820	50000
Wheat and Barley	Barrells	42000	20000
Rye		14000	7000
Oatmeal		12000	6000
Pease, Beans and Oats			9000
Mault			3000
N. Drapery, pcs	Yards	1784	4000
Salmon	Ton	800	9600
Linnen Yarn	C.	3887	12000
Woollen Yarn		3319	3000
Bacon	Flitches	1992	800
Candles	C.	1497	2000
Rapefeed	Barrels	7000	3060
Herrings	Barrels	2000	1500
Pilchards Fish			5000
Reap-Oyl	Ton	21	300
Cheese	Ton	215	4300
			582814

ESSAYS on TRADE. 85

Exports of Ireland for the Year 1681.

Denomination of GOODS.		Quant. from Ireland to E.	Value from Ireland to E.
Wooll	Stones	223108	111554
Hides			22300
Beef	Bar.	2642	2000
Tallow	Tons	766	23000
Butter	Tons		
Pork	Bar.		
Mutton	Bar.	4440	5000
Skins and Furs			4000
Horses			
Frizes	yds	568656	40000
Wheat and Barley	Bar.	12763	6000
Rye		4000	2000
Oatmeal			
Pease, Beans and Oats			
Mault			1000
N. Drapery, pcs	yds		
Salmon	Ton		
Linnen Yarn	C.	3887	12000
Woollen Yarn		3319	3000
Bacon	Flitches		
Candles	C.		
Rapeseed	Bar.		
Herrings	Bar.		
Pilchards Fish			
Reap-Oyl	Ton		
Cheese	Ton		
			<u>231554</u>

26 ESSAYS on TRADE.

Exports of Ireland for the Year 1681.

Denomination of GOODS		Quant. from Ireland to Foreign Parts	Value from Ireland to Foreign Parts
Wool	Stones		
Hides			42000
Beef	Bar.	50228	38000
Tallow	Tons	926	27760
Butter	Tons	5700	142000
Pork	Bar.	1498	1500
Mutton	Bar.	2214	2500
Skins and Furs			1000
Horses		5200	20000
Frizes	yds	142164	10000
Wheat and Barley	Bar.	29237	14000
Rye		10000	5000
Oatmeal		12000	6000
Peas, Beans and Oats			9000
Mault			2000
N. Drapery, pcs	yds	1784	4000
Salmon	Ton	800	6600
Linnen Yarn	C.		
Woollen Yarn			
Bacon	Flitches	1992	800
Candles	C.	1497	12000
Rapeseed	Bar.	7000	3000
Herrings	Bar.	2000	1500
Pilchards Fish			5000
Reap-Oyl	Ton	21	300
Cheese	Ton	215	4300
			<u>351260</u>

ESSAYS on TRADE. 87

Exports from England to Ireland, 1681.

Denominations.		Quantities	Values
Lead and Tin	Ton	20	300
Silk Manufactory	l.	13854	70000
Silk unwrought		5481	5000
Ribbon		1707	3000
Gold and Silver Lace		3407	2000
Gold and Silver Thread		2666	1200
New Draperies	yds	15088	30000
Mixt Stuffs	yds	22629	4000
Fustians Ends		3939	2000
Callicoos		9323	6000
Coles	Ton	32693	26000
Holland	Ells	20000	6000
Hops	l.	5388	15000
Hats		2000	4000
Salt	Busk.	70000	6000
Sugar	l.	5740	9000
Tobacco	l.	2890970	72000
Cotton Wooll and Yarn		2000	1500
Iron Ware several sorts			7000
Several Toys			3000
Brass Pans and Pots sev. sorts.			600
Manchester Ware			3000
Indigo		7000	1000
Allom and Dying Stuff			3000
Druggs			2000
Cordidge		32	1000
Oyl		4	200
Milliners Ware			8000
Cambrick and Eastia Linnen			9000
Glasses and Glafs-bottles			1000
Iron-Mine and Sinders			3000
Apples and Syder	Butts	5000	1800
Bellows		2000	200
Books Bound			1000
Earthen Ware and Slates			1500
Garden Seeds			500
Beaver and Red Wooll			500
Grossery-Ware			5000
Haberdashery Ware			20000
Buttons, Hare and Silk			1500
Old Drapery			12000
G 4			346800

88 *ESSAYS on TRADE.*

Exports from Foreign Parts to Ireland, 1681.

Denominations		Quantities	Value.
Holland	Ells	8000	1600
Hats		5000	1200
Deal Boards	Thouf.	250	5000
Oringes and Lemons		916660	200
Paper	Reams	14803	3000
Salt	Bush.	301073	34500
Brandy	Ton	446	6000
French Wine	Ton	1439	13500
Vinegar	Ton	50	400
Pruans	Ton	20	150
Spanish Wine	Pieces	333	7000
Raisins	Ton	20	500
Figs	Ton	5	100
Oyl	Ton	3	60
Mather	l.	80	160
Olives, Sturgeons and Pickles			150
Canvas and French Linnen			4000
Copper-Pans	Ton	5	300
Hops	C.	1380	4000
Silk Manufactory	C.	2000	3000
Woollen Cord	Dozen	100	100
Playing Cards	Gros	40	120
French Toys			1200
			86240

This

This Accompt shews how the Trade of *Ireland* stood in the Reign of King *Charles* the II.

The next Accompt for Four Years, shews how it stood in the Year, 1698. These Accompts will be surprizing, and in truth were so to me for some time, that *Ireland* should from almost a waste Country, in Six Years, grow more than it did in Twenty Six Years, of the greatest Tranquillity that Kingdom ever enjoyed. For the settlement of *Ireland* after the Rebellion of 1641, began in the Year 1656, and upon the Restauration of *Charles* the II. It was greatly improved by the Act of settlement, and so went on to the Year, 1682. But the *English* began then to be apprehensive of what followed in the Reign of King *James*, and carried off all they could out of that Kingdom, and this among other mistakes of *England*, in Relation to *Ireland*, I take to be of ill consequence, that the *English* there should be so precarious in their properties, that every change of Government new moulds them; for fear of which, those that can, are always upon the Wing when they have new Masters, and however slightly this may be considered, in my humble Opinion it may one time or other be the loss of *Ireland*.

It is evident it has produced frequent Rebellions, which might have been prevented, if the *English* dur'd have staid in the Kingdom; but they are frequently drove from it, by the Conduct of their own Government, who too often favour the *Irish*, to the prejudice of the *English*. We need not look far back to
give

give Instances, I perswade my self, if these things were under Consideration, the *Parliament* would no more leave *Ireland* under the hazard of Arbitrary Government than they would *England*. *I might say more*, but it will appear better when led in by other things, as there is reason to believe it will.

Ireland is too good a morsel for *England* to loose, and too dangerous a Neighbour for *England* to suffer under any Government and Laws, but their own; and methinks the Complexion of being under different management in *Ireland* from that of *England*, is like being under *Foreign* power, and I could tell how it hath affected the Trade and Navigation of *England*, as much as if it were.

But to return to the great advance of *Ireland* in Six Years, that the Exports should exceed, 413491, 08, 2. of what they were in 1681, is extraordinary; being almost as much as the whole Exports of *Ireland* before the Wars.

There are Reasons for it which should be considered, (but I am under no Obligation to name them) nor do I believe the Exports of *Ireland* will ever Amount to so much again, if better management and other accidents do not happen in Trade, as is very frequent in that Kingdom; where most of their Exports is Provisions, and the demand of them abroad, governed by their Harvest, Vintage, &c. as the following particulars demonstrate: in the Year 1679, the Exportations of Corn amounted to 45,000
sterling;

sterling; whereas formerly there was Importations of Corn into *Ireland*; so is the Exports of Butter very Casual, when the Olives fail in *Spain*, then Butter is in great demand; but much of the Exports of Butter, depends upon these Markets of *Flanders*, and they are governed by a War; a Peace would soon put an end to the Trade into those parts, and they as formerly, will Export that Commodity of their own product. The next thing to be observed, is what proportion of the Exports of *Ireland* are Manufactures, and they are, as by the following Account appears, for the Year 1681, the Exports from *Ireland* Amounted to 582814 Pound *sterling*, of which there was Manufactures Yarn, &c. value 69000 l. *sterling*, and of that to the value of 12000 of Linnen Yarn, and 3000 Pound *sterling* Woollen Yarn; all which is Manufactured to great advantage in *England*, the rest of the 69000 Pound is 50000 Pound *sterling* in Frizes, much of which is Imported into *England*, and improved by new Dressing and Napping, so then there remains of all the *Irish* Manufactures Exported, but to the value of 4000 Pound *sterling*; this is matter of Fact as it stood in the latter end of the Reign of *Charles* the II. The next thing to be considered, is the Importations of *Ireland*, and by the Account for the forementioned Year of 1681, it stands thus.

The Importations in General, Amounted to 433040 Pound, of which 346800 *sterling* were from *England*, and but 86240 from Foreign Parts, and of them, part should not have come

come in, but for Reasons proper at another time ; and all I shall farther observe in this place, is, that it seems in my humble Opinion, deserving the greatest care of *England* to support and incourage *Ireland* in *British* hands, and under *English* Laws, otherwise, that Trade which is now so profitable to *England*, will run into *Foreign* hands, which when considered ; it is to me a convincing Argument, for our having the whole Trade, Manufactures, and Employments of those Kingdoms, under the Scrutiny of Men of Experience and Judgment in Trade ; and if we had such to prepare matters for a Parliament, there would have been better use made of *Ireland*, than ever hath yet been, nor probably would there have been any discouragement to the *British* in that Kingdom, whom it seems, God and Nature hath fram'd to Enrich *England*, if we were pleased to admit them ; but it plainly proceeds from not knowing what we do, and might gain by that Kingdom, that we have run into such mistakes about it, of which more at large, when we come to the Trade of *Ireland*, as it now stands since the Year, 1694.

An

the year 1855.

Year	Value	Commodity
1897	100.00	Wheat
1898	100.00	Wheat
1899	100.00	Wheat
1900	100.00	Wheat
1901	100.00	Wheat
1902	100.00	Wheat
1903	100.00	Wheat
1904	100.00	Wheat
1905	100.00	Wheat
1906	100.00	Wheat
1907	100.00	Wheat
1908	100.00	Wheat
1909	100.00	Wheat
1910	100.00	Wheat
1911	100.00	Wheat
1912	100.00	Wheat
1913	100.00	Wheat
1914	100.00	Wheat
1915	100.00	Wheat
1916	100.00	Wheat
1917	100.00	Wheat
1918	100.00	Wheat
1919	100.00	Wheat
1920	100.00	Wheat
1921	100.00	Wheat
1922	100.00	Wheat
1923	100.00	Wheat
1924	100.00	Wheat
1925	100.00	Wheat
1926	100.00	Wheat
1927	100.00	Wheat
1928	100.00	Wheat
1929	100.00	Wheat
1930	100.00	Wheat
1931	100.00	Wheat
1932	100.00	Wheat
1933	100.00	Wheat
1934	100.00	Wheat
1935	100.00	Wheat
1936	100.00	Wheat
1937	100.00	Wheat
1938	100.00	Wheat
1939	100.00	Wheat
1940	100.00	Wheat
1941	100.00	Wheat
1942	100.00	Wheat
1943	100.00	Wheat
1944	100.00	Wheat
1945	100.00	Wheat
1946	100.00	Wheat
1947	100.00	Wheat
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2001	100.00	Wheat
2002	100.00	Wheat
2003	100.00	Wheat
2004	100.00	Wheat
2005	100.00	Wheat
2006	100.00	Wheat

come in, but for Reasons proper at another time ; and all I shall farther observe in this place, is, that it seems in my humble Opinion, deserving the greatest care of *England* to support and incourage *Ireland* in *British* hands, and under *English* Laws, otherwise, that Trade which is now so profitable to *England*, will run into *Foreign* hands, which when considered ; it is to me a convincing Argument, for our having the whole Trade, Manufactures, and Employments of those Kingdoms, under the Scrutiny of Men of Experience and Judgment in Trade ; and if we had such to prepare matters for a Parliament, there would have been better use made of *Ireland*, than ever hath yet been, nor probably would there have been any discouragement to the *British* in that Kingdom, whom it seems, God and Nature hath fram'd to Enrich *England*, if we were pleas'd to admit them ; but it plainly proceeds from not knowing what we do, and might gain by that Kingdom, that we have run into such mistakes about it, of which more at large, when we come to the Trade of *Ireland*, as it now stands since the Year, 1694.

An

the year 1892.

Year	Value	Quantity	Price
1900	100.00	1000	1.00
1901	120.00	1200	1.00
1902	150.00	1500	1.00
1903	180.00	1800	1.00
1904	200.00	2000	1.00
1905	220.00	2200	1.00
1906	250.00	2500	1.00
1907	280.00	2800	1.00
1908	300.00	3000	1.00
1909	320.00	3200	1.00
1910	350.00	3500	1.00
1911	380.00	3800	1.00
1912	400.00	4000	1.00
1913	420.00	4200	1.00
1914	450.00	4500	1.00
1915	480.00	4800	1.00
1916	500.00	5000	1.00
1917	520.00	5200	1.00
1918	550.00	5500	1.00
1919	580.00	5800	1.00
1920	600.00	6000	1.00
1921	620.00	6200	1.00
1922	650.00	6500	1.00
1923	680.00	6800	1.00
1924	700.00	7000	1.00
1925	720.00	7200	1.00
1926	750.00	7500	1.00
1927	780.00	7800	1.00
1928	800.00	8000	1.00
1929	820.00	8200	1.00
1930	850.00	8500	1.00
1931	880.00	8800	1.00
1932	900.00	9000	1.00
1933	920.00	9200	1.00
1934	950.00	9500	1.00
1935	980.00	9800	1.00
1936	1000.00	10000	1.00
1937	1020.00	10200	1.00
1938	1050.00	10500	1.00
1939	1080.00	10800	1.00
1940	1100.00	11000	1.00
1941	1120.00	11200	1.00
1942	1150.00	11500	1.00
1943	1180.00	11800	1.00
1944	1200.00	12000	1.00
1945	1220.00	12200	1.00
1946	1250.00	12500	1.00
1947	1280.00	12800	1.00
1948	1300.00	13000	1.00
1949	1320.00	13200	1.00
1950	1350.00	13500	1.00
1951	1380.00	13800	1.00
1952	1400.00	14000	1.00
1953	1420.00	14200	1.00
1954	1450.00	14500	1.00
1955	1480.00	14800	1.00
1956	1500.00	15000	1.00
1957	1520.00	15200	1.00
1958	1550.00	15500	1.00
1959	1580.00	15800	1.00
1960	1600.00	16000	1.00
1961	1620.00	16200	1.00
1962	1650.00	16500	1.00
1963	1680.00	16800	1.00
1964	1700.00	17000	1.00
1965	1720.00	17200	1.00
1966	1750.00	17500	1.00
1967	1780.00	17800	1.00
1968	1800.00	18000	1.00
1969	1820.00	18200	1.00
1970	1850.00	18500	1.00
1971	1880.00	18800	1.00
1972	1900.00	19000	1.00
1973	1920.00	19200	1.00
1974	1950.00	19500	1.00
1975	1980.00	19800	1.00
1976	2000.00	20000	1.00
1977	2020.00	20200	1.00
1978	2050.00	20500	1.00
1979	2080.00	20800	1.00
1980	2100.00	21000	1.00

94 *ESSAYS on TRADE.*

An Abstract of the Importations into Ireland, in the Year 1695.

Denomination of Goods.	Quantities	Value.		
Brandy	13538 gallons	5415	8	
Coales	29526 $\frac{1}{2}$ Tons	22144	13	9
Deales	174904 No.	8741	3	4
Drapery	New	67768 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards	5701	5
	Old	13656 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards	6828	5
Druggs		1598	11	10
Dying Stuffs		5672	7	6
Glass and Glass Wares		1743	4	6
Grocery		5893	10	10
Haberdashery Wares		40200		
Hats	1032 No.	516		
Hemp	772 C. 1qr.	807	15	
Hops	5307 C. 2qrs.	21230		
Ironmengers Wares		8827	4	1
Lead	3862 C. 2qrs.	2913	3	9
Linnen Cloth	330133 yards	25067	13	8
Millenary Wares		18421	1	8
Oranges and Lemons	393685 No.	1574	11	6
Oyl	11702 gallons	3900	16	8
Paper	10557 Reams	4222	16	
Salt	408263 bushels	40826	10	
Syder	174 Tons 3 H.	2955		
Silk Manufactures	6013 pounds	21045	10	
Raw Silk	6607 pounds	4955	5	
Sugar	4989 C. 1qr.	15257	13	9
Tobacco	3210380 pounds	80259	10	
Wine	Port	381 Tons	19050	
	Spanish	189 Tons 3 H.	11385	
	Rhenish	4	2	
	French		370	
		391524	7	1

ESSAYS on TRADE. 93

An Abstract of the Exportations for the Year 1695.

Denomination of Goods.	Quantities.	Value.		
Beer	2180 barrels	545	2	6
Beef	32544 barrels	24408		
Bread	7762 C. 2 qrs.	2328	15	
Butter	90127 C.	90127		
Candles	1582 C. 1 qr.	2768	18	9
Cheese	5050 C. 3 qrs	3788	1	3
Corn	19579 qrs.	16685		5
Drapery	New 2608 pcs	2608		
	Old 17 1/2 pcs	25	17	6
Herrings	24491 barrels	12245	10	
Fish	Salmon 714 T. 2 Ter	10000	13	4
	Dry d Fish	828	9	
Frize	41146 yards	2057	6	
Hats	718 No.	107	14	
Hides	36926 No.	18463		
Iron	4085 C. wt.	2705	6	8
Linnen Cloth	4835 pieces	4835		
Pork	4833 barrels	3624	15	
Rapeseed	2011 quart.	2011		
Stockings	15012 pieces	754	10	
Skins of several sorts		5640	10	3
Meat	19924 barrels	6758	16	8
Tallow	13284 C. wt.	16605		
Wool	69257 gr.Sto.	34878	10	
Yarn	Linnen 2583 C. wt.	12915		
	Woollen 6375 1/2 gr.Sto.	7120	16	
Wooden-Ware, Timber and other Goods.		10755	8	10
		295592	1	2

By this Account, the Exports of *Ireland* amounted unto 295592 *l.* 1 *s.* 2 *d.* of which, Manufacturies to the value of 30463 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* and of that it is observable, that 20075 *l.* was of Linnen and Wollen Yarn; whereas before the Wars, when *Ireland* was in its full height and prosperity, there was before, as before is set down, but to the value of 15000 *l.* *sterling* in those Commodities: this shews the natural propensity of the *Irish* to Idleness, and that nothing but force will make them work. Here we see, that half the hands for the War reduced them to that, at least, did more work then twice their number did before the Wars, and the Reason was this; before the Wars, the *Irish* had Cows, even the very Beggars from door to door have their Cows, and Potatoe Gardens, and whilst they can have Milk and Pottatoes, they will do little work. Now the *Irish* had generally lost their Cattle, and that forced them to Spin to get them Bread; but there is a way to employ the *Irish*, and to their own advantage in Linnen Manufactures, for the gain of *England*, and if our fate be not determin'd, we shall neglect the Antient Method of Trade no longer. Stock-Jobbing, Wagers, and the more Gentleman-like Trade of a good Office as it's called, will not bring Money into the Kingdom; and to live upon the Main Stock without any new comings in, may bring the Nation into the condition of the *Dutch* Man in *Amsterdam*, that begged Charity for a Man mistaken in his Account; his Case was thus, he had been a Merchant, and thought he had got Money enough

enough to support him during his Life, but out-living his Account, found his misfortune in neglecting his business ; if *this* should be our Cases, and we should think the Nation Rich enough without Trade to maintain War abroad, and the Poor at home, I fear we should be as much mistaken in our Account. We then come to the Importations of *Ireland*, and they Amount to 39152*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* sterling, by which it appears, the Ballance was to the loss of *Ireland*, 95932*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* sterling ; which I doubt was more, for that *Ireland* was new Planting ; the *English* returning, brought with them Commodities for Replanting and Supplying them that were there, and had been stripped by the *Irish*.

Of this Importation to *Ireland*, there was 10596*l.* from Foreign Parts, which was more in proportion to the Exports then usual, because of the want of Deals, and some other Foreign Commodities, that *Ireland* had not been furnished with during the War.

98 E S S A Y S on T R A D E.

An Abstract of the Importations into Ireland, in the Year 1896.

Denomination of Goods.	Quantities.	Value.		
Brandy	20559 gallons	8223	12	
Coales	24661 Tons	18495	15	
Deales	183720 No.	9185	16	8
Drapery	{ New	45779 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds	3974	16
	{ Old	15227 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds	7613	15
Druggs		1833	19	9
Dying Stuffs		7287	12	
Glass and Glass Wares		1777	14	6
Grocery		6200		
Haberdashery Wares		48100	5	
Hats	780 No.	390		
Hemp	18586 3 qrs	1961	5	
Hops	2594 C. wt.	10376		
Ironmongers Wares		5368	14	7
Lead	14576 3 qrs	1133		
Linnen Cloth	90015 yards	10014	17	1
Millenary Wares		19327	19	1
Oranges and Lemons	289395 No.	1157	10	3
Oyl	12552 gallons	4184		
Paper	12919 Reams	5167	12	
Salt	294561 bushels	29456	2	
Syder	45 T. 3 H.	915		
Silk Manufactures	4673 pounds	16355	10	
Raw Silk	8022 pounds	6016	10	
Sugar	4514 C. 1qr.	10994	15	
Tobacco	2161177 l.	54029	8	6
Wine	{ Port	457 T. 1 H.	22862	10
	{ Spanish	368 T. 3 H.	22125	
	{ Rhenish	7 1	435	
	{ French			
		334963	19	8

ESSAYS on TRADE. 99

An Abstract of the Exports for the Year 1696.

Denomination of Goods.	Quantities.	Value.
Beer	4394 barrels	1098 10
Beef	36318 barrels	27238 10
Bread	7412 C. 1qr.	2223 13 6
Butter	103472 C. 2qrs	103472 10
Candles	1818 C. 2qrs	3182 7 6
Cheese	6111 C.	4583 5
Corn	23760 qrs	17722 8 4
Drapery { New	4413 pcs	4413
{ Old	34 3/4 pcs	52 2 6
Fish { Herrings	14915 barrels	7457 10
{ Salmon	755 T. 2 Terc.	10574 13 4
{ Dry'd Fish		1618 14
Frize	104167 yds	5208 7
Hats	1547 No	232 1
Hides	62492 No	31246
Iron	12060 C. wt.	8640
Linnen Cloth	12176 pcs	12176
Pork	4250 barrels	3187 10
Rapefeed	4043 qrs	4043
Stockings	35032 pair	1791 2
Skins of several sorts		11099 7 7
Meal	32704 barrels	10947 16 8
Tallow	22948 C. 2qrs	28685 12 6
Wool	89783 qr. Sto.	44891 10
Yarn { Linnen	5956 C. 3qrs	29783 15
{ Woollen	7900 gr. Sto.	8322
Wooden-Ware, Timber and other Goods.		14346 1 6
		398237 7 5

100 *ESSAYS on TRADE.*

By this Account the Exports of *Ireland* amounts to 398237,7,5, of which Manufactures ; and of that 38105,15, of Linnen and Woollen Yarn 12000 *sterling* in Linnen, and 5208, 07 in Frize ; all which to the benefit of *England* equally as if of their own, and in some respect more, because they cost them nothing, as shall be demonstrated in the following Sheets.

The Imports of *Ireland* for the Year 1696, amounted in the whole to 334963, 19, 8 : of which from Foreign Parts, 101419, 15, 8.

By this Account we see the Importations abated from Foreign Parts, of what it was the precedent Year, though the Exports encreas'd almost a Third of what they were the Year before.

An

the New York

102 *ESSAYS on TRADE.*

An Abstract of the Importations into Ireland, in the Year 1697.

Denomination of Goods.	Quantities	Value.		
Brandy	29938 gallons	11975	4	
Coales	32779 Tons	24584	5	
Deales	2899C. & 19	14495	15	10
Drapery	New	24449 $\frac{1}{4}$ yards	2170	13
	Old	11205 yards	5602	10
Druggs		2321		8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dying Stuffs		8519	16	11
Glass and Glass Wares		2189	5	11
Grocery		21023	10	4
Haberdashery Wares		40320	10	
Hats	639 No.	319	10	
Hemp	1178 C. 1qr.	1230	15	
Hops	3855C. 2qrs.	15422		
Ironmongers Wares		6200	15	9
Lead	2079 C.	1577	12	6
Linnen Cloth	109258 $\frac{3}{4}$	16581	18	11
Millenary Wares		26257		10
Oranges and Lemons	207065 No.	828	5	4
Oyl	31730 $\frac{1}{2}$ gallons	6320		3
Paper	9480 $\frac{1}{2}$ Reams	3792	4	
Salt	399278 bushels	39927	16	
Syder	45Tons 1 H.	905		
Silk Manufactures	4958 pounds	17353		
Raw Silk	11679 pounds	8759	5	
Sugar	10136 1 qr.	23763	7	6
Tobacco	3098737 pounds	77468	8	6
Wine	Port	449 Tons 1 H.	22462	10
	Spanish	290	17400	
	Rhenish	4	240	
	French	69	3138	15
		423182	16	7

ESSAYS on TRADE. 103

An Abstract of the Exportations for the Year 1697.

Denomination of Goods.	Quantities.	Value.
Beer	4552 barrels	1138
Beef	68210 $\frac{1}{2}$ barrels	51157 17 6
Bread	7593 C. 1qr.	2277 19 6
Butter	96184 3	96184 15
Candles	1389 C. 1qr.	2781 3 9
Cheese	6049 C. 3qrs	4537 6 13
Corn	15266 qrs.	10806 16 8
Drapery { New	8847 $\frac{1}{2}$ pcs	8847 10
{ Old	94 $\frac{1}{2}$ pcs	141 7 6
Fish { Herrings	18910 $\frac{1}{2}$ barrels	9455 5
{ Salmon	860 Tons	12040
{ Dry'd Fish		1572 11 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Frize	216936 yards	10846 16
Hats	2301 No.	345 3
Hides	87175 $\frac{1}{2}$ No.	44087 15
Iron	8408 C. 1qr.	5605 10
Linnen Cloth	23823 pieces	23823
Pork	3766 $\frac{1}{2}$ barrels	2824 17 6
Rapefeed	7569 quart.	7569
Stockings	75576 pieces	3796 10
Skins of several sorts		11004 3 6
Meal	11195 $\frac{1}{2}$ barrels	3765 12 6
Tallow	34289 C. 3qrs	42862 3 9
Wooll	217678 $\frac{3}{4}$ qr.Sto.	108839 7 6
Yarn { Linnen	7113 3	35568 15
{ Woollen	13480 Stones.	8316 12
Wooden-Ware, Timber and other Goods.		14808 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
		525004 6 3

By this Account the Exports of *Ireland* amounted to 525004, 6, 3, of which 83707 were Manufactures Exported into *England*, improvable in *England*.

The Imports for the above Year amounted to 423182, 16, 7, of which from Foreign Parts 132290 : This must be owned to the prejudice of *England*, and the more, since the Evil encreases, as appears by the next Years Importations ; for the Foreign Importations into *Ireland* is a loss to *England*, in more than perhaps is in every part considered, which may be understood when the Manage of *Ireland* is inquired into.

An

Ireland. *An Abstract of the Importations for the*
Year ended the 25th of December, 1698.

Denomination of Goods.		Quantities.	Value.		
Brandy	gallons	82916 $\frac{3}{4}$	22802	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coales	Tons	37398	31788	6	
Deales	C. q. No.	3951—20	15804	13	4
Draperies	yds	40157 $\frac{1}{4}$	11517	11	2
Dying Stuffs	value		23857	12	2
Fish	value		2974	8	4
Glass and Gl.wares	value		3531	2	3
Grocery	value		28001	17	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hemp	C. q. l.	2483 3 8	3784		2
Haberdashery-W.	value		13514	17	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hops	C. q. l.	2836 5	34032	10	10
Lead	C. q. l.	5476 3 2	4035		9
Linnens	Ells	168582 $\frac{1}{4}$	34502	15	3
Oyles	gallons	41902 $\frac{1}{4}$	6676	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Paper	value		8240		1
Salt	Busshels	553272 $\frac{1}{2}$	41495	8	9
Silks	l. oz.	17572 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	37847	7	6
Tobacco	pounds	3370900 $\frac{1}{4}$	84272	10	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wines	Ton Hhd. G.	1870 3 14 $\frac{1}{4}$	52044	13	5
Balks, Druggs, Earthen- Ware, &c. value			460723	8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
			116139	12	6
			576863	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Ireland. *An Abstract of the Exports*

		Denomination of GOOD S	
Product of	Cattle	Bacon	Flit
		Beef	Bar
		Bullocks	
		Butter	C. q.
		Calve Skins	
		Candles	C. q.
		Cheese	C. q.
		Cowes Hair	C. q.
		Hoggs	
		Hoggs Laird	C. q.
		Horns	v
		Hides Tan'd	
		Ditto Untan'd	
		Jumps	do
	Oxe Bones	v	
	Oxe Guts	Bar	
	Pork	Bar	
	Shooes	pou	
	Tallow	C. q.	
	Tongues	do	
	Fifth	Codd	Bar
		Hake	
		Herrings	Bar
		Salmon	Ton Tie
		Dry'd Whittings, Glasfon, &c.	va
	Flax	Cordage	C. q.
		Linnen Cloth	pi
		Linnen Yarn	C. q.
	Sheep	New Drapery	pi
		Old ditto	pi
		Frize	ya
		Gloves	p
		Hats	N
		Mutton	Bar
		Ruggs	pi
		Lamb Skins	va
		Sheep ditto	va
		Woollen Stockings	dozen p
		Worsted ditto	dozen p
		Thrumes	poun
		Woollen Yarn	Stone
		Worsted ditto	Stone
		Wooll	Stone
		Iron, Timber, Wooden-W. &c. va	

of the Exportations for the Year ended the 25th of December 1698.

GOODS.	Quantity.	Value.	Currant Price.			Total.
Flitches	1220	at 10s. per Flitch.	610			
Barrels	83967½	18s. per bar.	75570	15		
No.	515	30s. per pc.	772	10		
C. q. l.	121827 2 6	35s. per C. wt.	213198	4	5	
No.	53238	15d. each	3327	7	6	
C. q. l.	2463 20	4d. per l.	4597	18	8	
C. q. l.	5046 17	25s. per C. wt.	6307	13	9	
C. q. l.	529 1 26	40s. per C. wt.	1058	19	4	
No.	106	5s. each	26	10		
C. q. l.	128 3 26	28s. per C. wt.	180	11	6	
value			723	10	7	
No.	68913	14s. each	48239	2		
No.	110913	14s. each	77639	2		
dozen	1024	2s. per doz.	102	8		
value			45	3	4	
Barrels	54	10s. per bar.	27			
Barrels	3713½	40s. per bar.	7426	10		
pounds	5976	6d. per l.	149	7	6	
C. q. l.	53807 1 15	30s. per C. wt.	80711	1	6	
dozen	1274½	6d. per doz.	382	6		
						521096-01-01
Barrels	587½	10s. per bar.	293	15		
No.	51250	6d. each	1281	5		
Barrels	30379	18s. per bar.	27341	2		
Ton Tierce	656 3	18s. per Ton.	11810	5		
affon, &c. value			763	11	11	
						41489-18-11
C. q. l.	20	28s. per C. wt.	28			
piece	23176	35s. per pc.	41522	5		
C. q. l.	8916 3 15	5l. per C. wt.	44583	2	6	
						86133-07-06
piece	23285½	50s. per pc.	58213	13		
piece	281½	9l. per pc.	2533	10		
yards	666901	16d. per yd.	44460	1	4	
pair	1856	12d. per pair	92	16		
No.	4470	4s. each	894			
Barrels	754	17s. per bar.	640	18		
piece	458	10s. per pc.	229			
value			1796	12		
value			3488	18	8	
dozen pair	7752	12s. per doz.	4651	4		
dozen pair	175 5	40s. per doz.	350	16	8	
pounds	11247	3d. per l.	140	11	9	
Stone l.	3937 10	13s. 6d. p. Sto.	2657	17		
Stone l.	12848 10	17s. per Sto.	17345	11		
						137495-09-03
Stone l.	335574	10s. per Sto.				167787-00-00
						42303-11-03
en-W. &c. value						996305-08-02

ESSAYS on TRADE. 105

By this Account the Exports of *Ireland* amounted unto 996305, 8, 3, of which into *England*, Commodities Manufactured capable of being improved 155595.

The Imports for the above Year amounts unto 576863, 1, 5½, by which Account the Ballance is to the Gain of *Ireland* 419442, 6, 9½, of which from Foreign Parts 191066, which is the Loss of *England*, for that in the Year 1681, the Imports from Foreign Parts was but 86240.

106 ESSAYS on TRADE.

An Abstract of the Number of Ships employed in the Importing of Goods and Merchandize into the several Ports of Ireland; with an estimate of the Tonnage thereof, for one Year, ended the 25th of December, 1698.

PORTS	No. of Sh.	Tonn. of Irish Ships.	Tonn. of Eng. Ships.	Tonn. of Sc. Ships	Tonn. of F. Ships	Total.
Baltimore	3		210			210
Belfast	217	2007	1866	1273	380	5326
Coleraine	59	279	59	168		506
Cork	349	2779	14678	30	4879	19666
Dingle	4		150		100	250
Donnoghadee	31	234	6	104		344
Drogheda	80	552	1392	217	154	2315
Dublin	951	8123	40110	1597	6429	26259
Dundalk	24	192	208	20		420
Galway	23	238	290		658	1186
Killebeggs	12	170	90	120	130	510
Kinsale	35	294	1720		835	2849
Limerick	55	120	956		1985	3061
London-Derry	74	258	520	542	230	2150
Rosse	58	938	1842		357	3137
Sligo	15	130	400	40	80	650
Strangford	42	428	9	94		531
Waterford	203	1933	7301		2178	11412
Wexford	63	807	1305		50	2162
Wicklow	42	748	793			1541
Toughall	63	702	2139		502	3343

2403 21532 76044 4205 18947 120728

ESSAYS on TRADE. 107

By this Account, appears how the Navigation of *England* is shortned by the Trade of Foreign parts, which is a prejudice to both Kingdoms. But there is a Remedy in part for this without a New Law, there being some care taken in it by the Laws of both Kingdoms. Why not observ'd, and by what means broke into, will be less offensive, if shewn when demanded by those that have Power to ask it, for I am loath to give offence: for which Reason, I have handled some things very tenderly, yet for the publick good of the Nation, I wish they were brought to full Light. I think it concerns the Nation to have it so, lest the Disease grows past Remedy.

Trade and Navigation once lost, is harder to be brought back, than to be introduc'd where it never was.

ESSAY

ESSAY X.

Imports into England from Ireland, in the Year 1698; with Observations how they are Manufactured and Improved in England.

S heeps Wooll 335574 stone, at 16l.	}	167787
to the stone, in Ireland comes to		
Worsted Yarn 12848 sto. at 27s. per stone		17345
Woollen Yarn 3937 at 13s. 6d.		2657
Sheep and Lamb Skins		5250
Linnen Yarn 8916 C. 3 qrs. 15 l. per Cent.	}	44583
in Ireland, comes to		
Green Hides 40000 at 14s. per Hide		28000
		265623

This Sheeps Wooll Manufactured in	}	671148
England, comes to		
This Worsted Yarn Manufact. in Eng-	}	35000
land comes to		
This Woollen Yarn Manufact. in Eng-	}	5000
land comes to		
These Sheep and Lamb Skins Manufact.	}	15000
in England comes to		
This Linnen Yarn Manufactu. in Eng-	}	89000
land comes to		
These Green Hides Manufactu. in Eng-	}	56000
land comes to		
		871148

ESSAYS on TRADE. 109

There are many Commodities Imported from *Ireland* that I mention not, because I cannot be so certain of their Improvement as I am of the above, but it seems considerable, as appears by the following Account.

Calves Skins, at 14 s.	3327 07 06	}	106982 18 06
Tan'd Hides, 30000 at 14 s.	21000 00 00		
Tallow 26903 at 30 s.	40355 00 00		
Iron and Wooden Ware	42300 11 00		

The next thing, is the Exports from *England* to *Ireland*, and though I cannot be as exact as in the former Accompts, not knowing the value of those Exports may Amount unto, that are not of the Product or Manufacture of *England*, yet I may make a near Compute, because their is but very little of any thing but *East-India* Commodities, and they are not much, and all the rest are of *England*; for so must be accounted all the Product of the Foreign Plantations; this being so, I suppose that may be brought to this Account, as profit to the Nation, by the Exports to *Ireland*, of the 293818

250000 00 00

There was Employed in the Trade of *Ireland*, as I find by the particulars of each part, in the Year 1698; 2043 Sail of Ships, making Tunnage as they were entered in the Custom-House. 120728 Tun, of which 76044 Tun were of Ships of *England*: now to count the Gain of these Ships at 20 s. the Tun, makes

76044 00 00

1304174 18 06

By this Account against which there can be no Objection, for that there is nothing charged but arises out of the Custom-House Books of both Kingdoms; *England* Gains Annually by the Trade of *Ireland*, 1304174 18 6.

And

And besides this, there is the Exports of *Ireland* to Foreign Parts, on Account of *English Men*, which must be considered, and makes a great Article if I made any thing by guess; for thus stands the Account of the Exports of *Ireland*, for the Year 1698. 996305*l.* 08*s.* 02*d.*

Of which I bring to the above Accompt, but 265623*l.* 10*s.* 06*d.* Imported into *England*, which being deducted out of 996305*l.* 08*s.* 02*d.* there remains 730681*l.* 17*s.* 08*d.* which was Exported to Foreign Parts. 730681*l.* 17*s.* 08*d.*

The greatest part of which, is, or of right ought to be for the Account of *England*, and if it is so, is in the ballance of Trade equally so much, as if Exported from *England*, and then it is evident, that *England* doth Gain two Millions Sterling *per Annum* by the Trade of *Ireland*.

Now though there can be no denying matter of Fact as this Account is, yet there may be an Objection to 871148 that I make to be part of the clear gain to the Nation, for it will be said, the first cost of them in *Ireland*, being 265623 must be deducted, being paid for with the Money or Goods of *England*.

To this I answer, there is neither Money nor Goods sent out of *England*, for the Exports of *Ireland* to *England*, nor much for the Exports from *Ireland* for *English* Accompts to Foreign Parts, but they are paid for by the Expence of the *Irish* Estates in *England*; so that as to the general Stock of the Nation, nothing is carried out of the Kingdom, for what they fetch from *Ireland*.

If

ESSAYS on TRADE. III

If this were rightly considered what *Ireland* is, and what it might be to *England*; I perswade my self, there would be another manner of care taken of it, then to leave it a sacrifice for Men when they want Employments, as I have said before in another place, kept for uses not to be named, and why not for a Publick Benefit of the Nation I cannot tell, but because 'tis not under the care of the Parliament, and made a part of themselves. The consequence of which has been the cause of the frequent Rebellions of *Ireland*, and the mistaken disposition after recovered, has been much to the prejudice of the Trade and Navigation of *England*. Whereas it might be so managed, to bring in more clear gain to the Nation, than any other Trade they have in the World, as I think is plainly demonstrated by the foregoing Accounts, &c. That which makes it yet more valuable, is, that the product of it is not consumed in *England*, as most of the other Trades are. But this brings in Silver and Gold, and would of it self fill the Kingdom with Money, if other Consumptive Trades did not carry it out.

Imports

112 ESSAYS on TRADE.

*Imports for the Year 1697, as it was taken out of
the Custom-House Books, &c. in London.*

Imported from		
Affrica	2496	06 08
Canaries	73583	13 06 $\frac{1}{2}$
Denmark and Norway-	90957	11 07
East-Country	197476	15 05
East-India	356509	07 07
Flanders	81741	03 04
France	48806	08 04
Germany	528734	03 05
Greenland	3694	17 06
Holland	649348	18 00 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ireland	333968	09 05
Italy	163624	17 09 $\frac{1}{2}$
Maderas	1270	12 06
Newfoundland	4899	13 01
Portugal	155310	16 01
Russia	74738	02 05
Scotland	124835	01 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Spain	354164	10 08
Sweden	219492	01 11
Streights	000000	00 00
Turky	162037	05 03 $\frac{1}{2}$
Venice	53601	13 02
Allderney	278	11 00
Gernsey	10663	10 02
Jersey	15195	19 11
English Plantations	866933	06 00 $\frac{1}{4}$
Price Goods	160996	08 04
	4732360	05 06

ESSAYS on TRADE. 113

Exports for the Year 1697, as it was taken out of
the Custom-House Books, &c. in London.

Exported to

Affrica	70587	17	04 $\frac{1}{2}$
Canaries	43170	09	06
Denmark and Norway	37232	06	08 $\frac{1}{4}$
East-Country	150018	16	10
East-India	451195	16	02 $\frac{1}{4}$
Flanders	547033	18	00 $\frac{1}{4}$
France	61441	17	07
Germany	694349	13	05
Greenland	00000	00	00
Holland	1507177	14	06 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ireland	293813	13	06
Italy	82011	05	03
Maderas	26762	09	01
Newfoundland	15620	09	01
Portugal	365251	07	06
Russia	36996	00	02
Scotland	58043	17	09
Spain	580499	03	06
Sweden	52379	03	08 $\frac{1}{2}$
Streights	300472	09	00 $\frac{1}{4}$
Turkey	172049	03	04
Venice	12806	09	08
Allderney	03007	10	06
Gernsey	20487	12	03
Jersey	7464	16	10
English Plantations	771234	14	03

6361108 10 01

That

That the foregoing Accompts may be the more intelligible, I shall here reduce them into such method, as will give Demonstration, how and by what Commodities, Navigation and Trade, *Ireland* becomes so profitable to *England*. And first let me remove one Objection which lies in the way; that if the Trade of *Ireland* brought in two Millions *per Annum*, gain to the Nation, that of it self, would have brought twice as much Money into the Kingdom, since the Restauration of *Charles* the II, as there is now in it. That there is not in the Kingdom, half the gain *England* hath got by *Ireland* in that time, is not to be denied; yet that hath no weight to disprove the assertion, that *England* doth gain near two Millions *per Annum* by *Ireland*, but it proves that *England* looses by most other Trades, which with the vast Consumption of Foreign Importations, swallows up most of the gain got by *Ireland* and the Foreign Plantations: which, with the *Turky* Trade, will be found when Trade is thoroughly considered, to be the chief Fund of our Treasure. I know there are some other Trades that make a good appearance, yet when look'd into, will not answer their show; nor is the ballance of Trade as I have said before, to be made only by an Accompt of Exports and Imports taken out of the Customs, if that were valid, the Accompt I here Inset, as it was made for the Year 1697, makes the Ballance to the profit of *England*, 1638802*l.* 04*s.* 07*d.*

Whereas it is to be feared, and even by that Accompt it may be made out, that the Ballance
is

is very little to the Advantage of *England*; 'tis a great work, and they must be nice Accomptants that can find out the Ballance of Trade in a Kingdom, of so unbounded a Consumption and Traffick; but of that of *Ireland*, there is no difficulty, being but four Articles; What are the Exports to *England*? and what the Imports from *England*? the Exports to Foreign Parts, with their Imports into *Ireland*; and these being here plainly Express'd, I presume cannot be contested, and then there may seem reason to settle and secure that Kingdom so invincibly to the Interest of *England*, that neither its Trade nor Government, may be separated from the *English* Nation, nor intermixt with any other. I presume it might be expected, that I should say something of the Revenue arising from the Customs and Import Duties, because in truth, nothing affects Trade more; but there is not Room for it here, and therefore I reserve it for the next Essay.

ESSAY XI.

That the Woollen Manufactory of England, cannot be managed to the Advantage of the Nation, without the Wooll's of Ireland.

THOUGH I shall not trouble the Reader with a long Discourse on this Subject, yet I believe it necessary to say something to it, because I have met with some Men of weight that are of Opinion the Wooll of *Ireland* is a prejudice to *England*, in bringing down the Price of it here; and by that means discourages our Sheep-Masters, and so abates the Flocks of *England*, and lowers the Rents of Land: and this Opinion, like some other mistakes in Trade, prevails with too many that yet mean well for the Publick.

That this Opinion is not well grounded, I submit the Reasons following,

First, That without the long Staple of *Irish* Wooll, which is for Combing, we could not work up the short Staple of our own Wooll, nor make our New Drapery Bays, &c. which I think is as considerable as any part of our
Woollen

Woollen Manufacture, and in some respect more, because our Old Drapery, and course Broad-Cloth can be, and are already supplied abroad by Manufactures of their course Wooll, but our finer Manufactory in Stuffs, they cannot make of their own Wooll.

Secondly, The cheaper our Wooll, the greater our Manufactories. I have said before, the greatest discouragement to our Woollen Manufactories, is, that we cannot afford them as cheap in the Foreign Markets, as some of them are made by our Neighbours, and it would be a dangerous experiment to raise our Wooll, and thereby be forc'd to lower the Rates of the Manufacturers Labour; and yet, so we must do, to bring our Commodities as cheap to a Foreign Market, as others in the World can.

Thirdly, The enlarging Sheep-Walks was never accounted a benefit to the Kingdom, but a waste in it; and so it is found in *Spain*, and as I have heard, even in *Ireland*, thought to be so injurious to them, that in one of their late Parliaments they were making a Law to restrain their numbers of Sheep, for that it hindred Planting and Peopling the Kingdom: a Shepherd and his Boy inhabiting as much Land as would imploy and maintain a Thousand Families. If it be so, it then seems an Advantage to *England* to lessen their Sheep-Walks, and enlarge them in *Ireland*, if there could be any way found to encourage them to do it; a Hundred Hands imployed in the Manufacturing Wooll, or any other Labour, brings in more Gain to the Publick than a Thousand Sheep;

118 ESSAYS on TRADE.

and yet a Hundred Acres of Land will feed them, when a Thousand Acres will not the Sheep. I can't say it is practicable, but wish it were, that *Ireland* was the Sheep-Walk of *England*, and that the Bodies of Men in *England* increas'd here, and their Sheep in *Ireland*; and did we keep all the Wooll of both Kingdoms at Home, we should want Wooll for our Manufactories as much as now we abound, for it is our Wooll that they have abroad, which with mixtures of their own, enable them to carry on their Manufactures, which if they were obstructed in, we should want both Hands and Wooll to supply Foreign Vent: and that there may be found ways to prevent the Exports of Wooll, without the charge of Armed Sloops, &c. I do presume it possible with less Expence to the publick. To suppress Evils in Traffick, oftner encreases than prevents them.

ESSAY

ESSAY XII.

Whether time of War, and when great Taxes are on the Nation, be a proper season for taking the Poor under consideration, so as to relieve and provide for them better then now they are.

IN the First Part of my Essays, I writ some few Lines on this Subject, but it only Related to Infant-poor, which I have heard several approve of, but go no further. That Maxim of Morality and good nature, *what shall I get by it*, stands in the way to obstruct any Publick good. And though blessed be God, we have numbers of Pious and Charitable Persons in the Nation, that Extend their Alms bountifully to the Poor, yet not being in a Publick Capacity, they can do no more then give some present ease to the Afflicted, but cannot make the Cure; that must be the Work of the Great Council of the Nation; and among them, with the greatest Respect to their Order, I think it would become the Reverend Bishops to appear first in this Publick National Charity; make the United Body of the Nation that Good Samaritan, who did more then give a bare Alms, provided for the Cure of his Supplicant: if the Nation did so, [for Private Charity never can make a Publick Remedy] we should have no cries in the Streets for Bread, nor the name of

God more Employed for Natural, than it is for Spiritual Food : 'tis a Blessing to Hunger after Righteousness ; but a Judgment on that Nation, where the Inhabitants Hunger after Bread : and however natural it is for every Man to put off Publick care from his own Shoulders, with that ready Answer, *that he is but one, and can make no Law* : Yet with submission he is not excusable until he hath done his part, and if every one that said he is but one, and so puts off a good work, would say he is one for it, the Majority would be of their side ; nor do I believe there would be any Man so hardy as to oppose so good a work. The blame must then be laid on them that approve the work but do not move in it.

And because I have heard some well affected to this good design of providing for the Poor, say, they thought it was not a proper time to stir in that matter, whilst a Nation lies under great Taxes to carry on the War, &c. I here submit my Opinion, that the greater the Taxes and Obstructions on Trade are by the War, the more proper the time for taking care of the Poor, and for this Opinion I give the Reasons following.

First, Because War and Obstruction in Trade and Manufactures, increase Poor, and if they are found a Burthen too great for the Nation to bear in a time of Peace ; it will not be possible by the Methods we are now under, to provide for numbers that may probably be double to what they are now ; and the best way to prevent a growing Poor, is to imploy the pre-
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sent Poor; and in that, there is a double Advantage.

There are Two sorts of Poor to be taken care of; one are Poor that are willing to Work, but cannot get Employment.

There are another sort of Poor that are Lazy and Idle, who rather choose to beg than Work.

The first sort will chearfully come into Employment, and to provide that for them will be less charge to the Nation, than to bring them into the List of the Parish Poor. For it is to be observed, whilst the Woollen Manufacture found Vent, great part of the Poor could earn something towards their maintenance, and the Parish allowed them perhaps, six Pence to twelve Pence a Week besides, but if there be not Work for them to earn something towards their living, then the Parish must allow them full maintenance, and that will more then double the charge of the Poor, we now have: which if considered, seems unanswerable, that the present War, Taxes, and decay of Trade, brings a necessity on the Nation, to take at this time new measures for the Poor.

It is not many Years since the Nation was on the brink of Ruin, by suffering abuses in the Coin to run to Extremity, which some believe might have been prevented with earlier care and less loss to the People, than it was at last, with an Expedient next to a Miracle in its success; but such Experiments should be remembered rather as Monitors, than Presidents. We seem to be in as great danger by a growing charge of the Poor, as we were then by the debasing of our Money; and I think it would be a greater loss to
shorten

shorten the number of the People though Poor, than it was to lessen the value of the Money.

I would not think it possible for a Christian People to see their Country Men starve and not relieve them, yet I must own it will be hard to prevent it, if the Poor increase to double in their charge and number, and the Nation not make Provision in proportion to the Increase of them. But to do that by raising the Tax upon Parishes for the Poor, would rather increase than maintain them; there being at this time many that pay to the Poor, who are supported by the Charity of their Friends, to carry on their Trades, and others that pay Ten Shillings a Year who live by Day-labour; these People will soon come to the Parish Charge: and another misfortune attends this matter, many Towns are decaying, by the Inhabitants quitting the Place, only because the Taxes for the Poor grows so upon them. I am loath to mention what I have heard, and in some measure seen of the Extremities of the Poor in many Towns in the Kingdom, and yet to loose these People through want, would be neither Christian nor Prudent Conduct. I cannot forbear repeating it, that the neglect of the Poor, seems the greatest mistake in our Government; why are we so careful to Increase our Herds and Flocks, and so remiss in that of our People? if our neglect of providing Employment for them, should necessitate some to seek their living abroad, and bring others to perishing want at home; we shall find perhaps when 'tis too late, that the loss of the bodies of Men, are not so easily recovered as that of Money: we have a Mint
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for the one, but none for the other, if we provide not ways for their Employment; and that brings me to the other Reason I would offer, why I think the War doth not hinder, but rather inforce an Immediate Consideration how to Employ the Poor.

I have said before, that a time of War Increases the Poor, and therefore there is the more reason to consider a way to Employ them in the time of War.

That may be done by Publick strength which cannot be done by Private, and there is some things may contribute in time of War for the Employment of the Poor, that doth not in time of Peace. I might name several, but I always decline any thing that looks like an Opinion of my own invention, nor do I think it decent for a Private hand to offer that which looks like Anticipating the Consults of such, as may perhaps be appointed to look into a concern of so great moment, as of that of Employing and Providing for the Poor.

I should think it a loss to the Nation, if the Six Hundred Thousand Poor, that a good Author tells us are in the Kingdom, that can work, should Travel out of it for Bread, and 'tis most probable that such may take their flight; in a time of War, there is a double invitation for them, either an Army or Manufacturies; and we have Neighbours that can Employ them in both.

It is mortifying to see what a delusion there is upon the generality of the Nation, they are as afraid of the Poor as of Rats, glad to be rid of them; and yet they are the hands that defend,
feed,

feed, and clothes us : what noise do we hear in the World, of raising Men for the Armies, and even our Confederates are accounted great, according to the number of their Troops, not their Bags, and yet 'tis their Men that inlarge them too. It was the Wisdom of the great Council of the Nation, even in this Confederacy, to pay their Men for our Quota, rather than send our own. This shews, that our Senators better consider the value of Men, then do the Commonalty of the Kingdom. And it is hoped, they will, now we are under so calm a Reign, wherein there is not Room for Faction, neither leave any for Complaint ; the Rich enjoy their plenty. Let not the Poor suffer by their abundance, which too often makes Men that know no want insensible of it in others, and by that sometimes bring it on themselves. We too often verifie that *Italian Proverb, English Men are sick too late, and well too soon* ; are we not so in this of the Poor ? We Act as if we had no Disease, tho' it grows every day upon us. I would only ask these Questions.

1. Whither 'tis not probable in a time of War, that there may be want of work for a Million of People that now are Employed ?

2. Whither a Weeks want of Employment, will not bring that Million of People to want Bread ?

3. What would be the consequence of such an Army to be up in a Day ? and this may be without the noise of a Drum, but with a more frightful, that of the cries of the Poor.

They that will consider this, will be of opinion, that there can be no reason given to delay that to Day, which may be more difficult to Morrow.

F I N I S.

*A Letter to a Gentleman in the Country, Relating
to the Election of Parliament-Men.*

S I R,

BY what you write, there seems in the Country a Universal apprehension of all thinking Men, that our next Parliament, under God, determines the Fortune of these Kingdoms, and makes us a Free or Enslav'd People. Mens Eyes begin to be open, and see their Error in chosing Members of Parliament for their Address and Expences, or for (what's equally as bad) the Recommendation of Great Men.

We may remember when this Evil began, and what supported it: But that which was then but Scurvy-spots on the Body, is of late, by the corruption of Places and Pensions, become Plague-Sores, that has almost infected the whole Nation.

I shall never forget the Answer of a great Man, six Years since, to one that came with a Project of lessening the charge of Offices, both as to Number and Value, which was this, *You would do the King more Service at this time to enlarge both*; and 'tis done to the purpose, if we have Ten Thousand Men in Civil Employments, the least of which have some influence on Elections, by Friends or Relations; and they have been said to hold their Employments by the Tenor of that Service. We have no need of such Artifices now, and we should mark the Men that use them.

What entertainment would Old England have given to Men that had no pretence to Elections, but *Presents to their Wives, and Drink to their Husbands*? Such would have been hurled out of the Country like Gipsies, and then the greatest Expence would not have been the Merits of their Choice.

I have often wonder'd that the least Understanding should not see the meaning of Mens Travelling from one end of the Kingdom to the other for an Election. Men do not spend their Time and Money for Moon-shine; the bare Title of *worthy Member*, will not answer the Expence of Five Hundred or a Thousand Pounds.

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We should except against a *Jury-Man* that gave Money to be put on it. And is not there much more reason to consider a Man that hath our *Lives* and *Fortunes* in his Hands; and we are told, even *without Controle*, or so much as to be heard by Petition? If it be so, we have the more Reason to be careful in our Choice, and never give our Vote for a Man we don't know: The common Objection is Ridiculous, *That there is not a Man in some Corporations fit to go to Parliament*. There may not perhaps fit for a publick Employment, and that which attends it; but there is few Corporations but have some Men in them that can *follow*, if they can't *lead Honest Men* in a Vote; and there never wants Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood of a Corporation fitter to be trusted than *Gracian Merchants, Lawyers, Clerks and Commissioners*; Inhabitants of *London and Westminster*. If we choose Men of our own Country, we should blush with the *Roman* to see a *Virtuous Cato* rejected, and a *Vicious Vatinius* Chosen; but when we fetch Men from abroad, we generally do it: Methinks it admits not of a doubt, as I said before; will any Man serve a Corporation he hath no more Interest in than the *Purchase* of his *Election*? There must be something more; and this I take to be the reason why our Taxes have been so great; it is commonly said, *One Third of them went among the Managers*; and when ever faulty Men were questioned, *Hush Many went abroad*, and a down right Vote saved them. And in this time it was observed, That though the Majority of the House were *Corporation Choice* yet not *Corporation Men*. Sea and Land Admirals, *Irish and Welsh Judges, London Stock-Jobbers, &c.* And a worse Set of Men that time will show. — This, if there were no more, would Alarm a Wiser Nation, to see their *Religion and Fortunes* in the Power of Men that have no Stake with them in either.

This thought often makes my Heart to tremble, a Vote in Parliament may give up a People, whilst their Navies and Armies are fighting to preserve them.—And none but those who believe our Corporation Voluntiers are Men of publick Spirits that design nothing for themselves, can think the Nation safe under such Representatives: But we see the most busie of our Champions advanc'd, and others not pleas'd who are neglected; Are these Men fit to be Chose again?

Physicians

Relating to the Election of Parliament-Men. 127

Physicians tell us, If Men in a Malignant Distemper feel no Pain, their Condition is Desperate. If a Parliament should be tainted, and the Nation not sensible, *what then?*

It was the saying of a great Man in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, *That England could never be undone but by a Parliament*; Pray God avert it now.

We have been unfortunate in a *Party-Reign*, very near to an *Anarchy*, when the Government was Modled to the prevalent Faction in every Sessions; there is the same Spirit abroad now, distinguishing themselves by the names of *Wigs* and *High Church-men*. One cries out, *Have a care of the Church*, another, *We are in danger of Popery*: When any Man with half an Eye may see the Design is only to strengthen a *Party*. They who get most in Parliament, have the Government, and consequently Employments at dispose.

Now then is the time to defeat, and for ever damn these Vultures of the Nation; and such an opportunity never offered before.

We have a Q. Elizabeth on the Throne; whatever more, nothing less in Exemplary Piety; and of whose Judgment and Temper there hath been invincible instances before she ascended the Throne; the same Spirit still guides her.

Let us then lay aside all *Party-Men*, and with one Voice set the Queen above them. Let her Servants be Servants, not Governours. —She hath no need of *Tricks* in Government: Her Parliament is her great Council, Choose them well, and she will be under no Necessity to make use of ill Men.

I think it a great fault among us to cry out against the Ministry, and Men in Employments: I believe indeed, the Nation never had worse than in the last Reign. —Yet without reflection to that great Man.

Who chose them? Was it not our selves. The day we Elect *Purchasers*, we give them an Office; *that is their Business*.

Now to prevent this Foundation-Evil, for so it is, let us chuse according to our excellent Constitution, Men among our selves, of known Integrity and Fortune in the Place they are Chose for; for then we shall have a *Country Parliament*; Men as unacquainted with Court Preferments, as
David

128 *A Letter to a Gentleman in the Country, &c.*

David was with *Sauls* Armour ; but he killed *Goliath* with his Rural Weapons ; so with a *Country Parliament* let us Conquer the Tools of Fraud at home, make them refund Millions of their late Harvest ; ease the Nation in their Taxes, and yet raise greater Supplies.

Such a Parliament of old *Brittons* would confute the Opinion that we have lost our *English Integrity*, and would mortify the *French Leviathan* ; who hopes more from our Corruptions and Weak Management, than the Force of his own Arms.

We should consider that we have Enter'd into a War, in which our all's at Stake ; our Trade, Manufactures and Navigation, which are the Funds that support our Fleets and Armies, will abate ; and to add to our misfortunes, we have a dismal Prospect of a *Growing Poor*.

We complain'd the last War, when we were not shortned in our Trade, as we are now. — The same management we had then, would change our *Money-Lotteries* into *Men-Lotteries*, and we shall want Money to pay them.

But we have yet enough to drop the last Penny with *Europe*, if we manage without Fraud, and be not like Larks, lewer'd into the Net by the Fictitious Glares of the Glass of Preferment, not considering that we do but Rob our selves, to give all up to the *French*.

If this be duly considered, we should rather Pray, then Drink for Elections ; and then we may hope, God will give us *Judges as at the first*, and *Counsellors as in the beginning*. But if our Elections are secured by Promises, as some brag, such Engagements are void when all's at Stake, and this our last Throw for the *English Nation*.

Let us not Fool our selves, if we miscarry in this Parliament, we are a lost People ; Pray God give every Man in the Nation understanding to consider it ; we shall then have a great change ; no Pensioners, no Places, no Expectants, nor Volunteers. No Men that want Covering of former Cheats, or any that set up for New ; we may know the Goats by their bleating.

F I N I S.



